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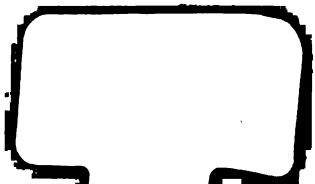

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CONFIRMATION OF ARMS TO THOMAS LEGH, OF HIGH LEGH, CHESHIRE, ESQ., 1580 AND 1613.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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The Society are indebted to the Trustees of the Warrington Museum for the plate of tokens at p. 67; *to Mr. Crofton for the plans illustrating his paper (pp.* 117, 133); *to the Chetham Society for permission to obtain impressions of the old plate of Harkirke coins (p.* 219); *to Mr. Earwaker for the facsimile of the Dauntesey Deed (p.* 249); *and to Mr. John Evans, F.R.S., for the cuts of Stone Implements (pp.* 320-326).

The present volume is edited by Mr. Charles W. Sutton.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PRE-NORMAN SCULPTURED STONES IN LANCASHIRE. By George Forrest Browne, B.D.	1
CHURCH LAWTON MANOR RECORDS. By Frank Renaud, F.S.A.	19
LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE TOKENS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Nathan Heywood, S.S.C.	64
QUAKER LANCASHIRE LITERATURE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Fishwick, F.S.A.	106
FOLK-MOOTS OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE. By Henry Thomas Crofton	117
WERE THE ROMANS ACQUAINTED WITH IRELAND? By George Esdaile	146
THE CHANTRY CHAPEL ON THE BRIDGE OF SALFORD. By the Rev. James Moyes	165
THE CITADEL OF THE GERMAN KNIGHTS. By Professor Adolphus William Ward, Litt.D., LL.D.	193
THE HARKIRKE FIND. By William S. Churchill	219
THE ANCIENT LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE LOCAL COURTS OF CRIMINAL AND SPECIAL JURISDICTION. By Chas. T. Tallent-Bateman	231
THE CHARTERS OF MANCHESTER AND SALFORD. By Geo. Esdaile	242
NOTES ON "WODEN'S FORD" AND "WODEN'S CAVE," IN SALFORD. By J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.	249
NOTES ON AN INSCRIBED STONE AT CATON. By William O. Roper	254
NOTES ON THE COLLECTION OF DEEDS PRESERVED AT THE EAST HALL, HIGH LEGH, CHESHIRE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THOSE RELATING TO MANCHESTER AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD. By. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.	259
TYPES OF SEPULCHRAL URNS. By H. Colley March, M.D. Lond.	272
PROCEEDINGS	287
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	355
TREASURER'S ACCOUNT	359
RULES	360
LIST OF MEMBERS	364
INDEX	374

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

CONFIRMATION OF ARMS TO THOMAS LEGH, OF HIGH LEGH, ESQ., 1580 AND 1613, WITH THE SIGNATURES OF THE HERALDS (A FACSIMILE, PRINTED IN COLOURS) - - - *Frontispiece.*

PRE-NORMAN SCULPTURED STONES IN LANCASHIRE:—

Plate I. - - - - - - - - - - - - - 4

„ II. - - - - - - - - - - - - - 6

„ III. - - - - - - - - - - - - - 8

„ IV. - - - - - - - - - - - - - 10

„ V. - - - - - - - - - - - - - 12

„ VI. - - - - - - - - - - - - - 14

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE TOKENS (two plates) - - - - 66–67

MAP OF MANCHESTER IN 1650 - - - - - - - - - 117

OUTLINE REPRINT OF LAURENT'S MAP OF MANCHESTER, 1793 - 133

A TRUE PORTRAITURE OF COINS FOUND AT HARKIRKE, 1611 - 219

GRANT OF A PIECE OF MOORLAND, NEAR SALFORD, FROM EDMUND, EARL OF LANCASTER, TO ADAM DE PRESTWICH, 1292 (FACSIMILE) - - - - - - - - - - - - - 249

TYPES OF SEPULCHRAL URNS - - - - - - - - - 272

Plate I.—GRÆCO-ROMAN: BOTTLE TYPE.

„ II.—BRITANNO-ROMAN TYPE.

„ III.—CELTIC: TWO-TIER-MUG TYPE.

„ IV.—CELTIC: THREE-TIER-MUG TYPE.

„ V.—CELTIC: FOUR-TIER-MUG TYPE.

„ VI.—CELTIC: PERFORATED OR CURD-CUP TYPE. PERFORATED HAND-MADE VESSELS FROM SWISS LAKE DWELLINGS; STONE + BRONZE AGE.

„ VII.—TEUTONIC CINERARY URNS: FLASK TYPE. CELTO-TEUTONIC TYPE. LAKE DWELLINGS; STONE + BRONZE AGE.

CINERARY URN FOUND AT MANCHESTER - - - - - - 295

STONE CELTS - - - - - - - - - - - - 320–1

PERFORATED STONE HAMMERS - - - - - - - 322–4

ARROWHEADS - - - - - - - - - - - - - 325

FLINT DAGGER OR SPEARHEAD - - - - - - - - 326

PRE-NORMAN SCULPTURED STONES IN LANCASHIRE.

BY GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, B.D.,

HONORARY FELLOW OF ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

[The six plates of illustrations are reproductions, by photo-lithography, of heelball rubbings roughly outlined with ink. It follows that the dark parts represent the raised carved work, and the white parts the sunk level of the stone. To any one able to draw, it would have been easy to trace the patterns on plain paper, and wash in the ground, and introduce shading to shew the raised and rounded work. The plan actually adopted is no doubt highly inartistic, but the eye may become accustomed to the inversion of light and shade, and the comparative accuracy of the method has its advantages. Those who are unable to draw will sympathise with the feeling that anything which enables a person in that unfortunate position to reproduce patterns on stones in out-of-the-way places, many of which require for their decipherment and interpretation qualifications which artists by no means always possess, is better than nothing. The scale is throughout an inch to the foot. A magnifying glass should be used, to make the patterns come out more clearly.]

I HAVE set before myself a very humble aim, to bring before you—and I must do it on the supposition that you are not all perfectly familiar with these matters—the very considerable amount of material you have in this county for the study and illustration of the question of sculptured stones. It is conceivable that many do not know how rich the county of Lancashire is in these priceless and unique possessions, which, out of this country, no nation of the world

has. I wish to speak to you as a society formed for practical work in archæological matters, willing to look into details.

I propose to take you, first of all, to Heysham. There are there three things specially to speak about. The first* is an example of a "hog-backed" stone, a solid mass some six feet long and two feet thick, laid over some ancient grave. You will observe that along the top there are various zigzag lines, which some have supposed to be the old zigzag ornament of the Celts. These lines are more probably the rude representation of tiling or shingling. There are several examples of tiled stones, of a very striking character, in various parts of the north; the idea probably being that the solid gravestone represented the last house of the dead person, and the gable-shaped top the roof of the house. In one of the earliest accounts of a Christian burial among the Anglians, early in the eighth century, it is said that a *parva capella* was placed over the grave, and this may mean a "little chapel," *i.e.*, a stone of that shape. This idea was carried out in a very complete manner by the Scandinavians, for a cast can be seen in the South Kensington Museum (mark 1885—199) of a solid gravestone in the shape of a church with a circular apse. The original of this remarkable sepulchral stone is in the Stockholm Museum, having been brought from the churchyard of Botkyrka, in Södermanland. An inscription on it states that it was made in honour of Bjorn, brother of St. Botvid, to whom Bjorn had dedicated the church. This was in the first half of the twelfth century; and lest any one should incautiously suppose that our English chapel-shaped gravestones are copied from the Scandinavian stones of that late period, it is well to emphasise the fact of our *parva capella* in Northumbria in the eighth century.

The hog-backed stone at Heysham is not the only one in

* Plate vi., *figs.* 1, 2.

this district, for there is another at West Kirby, in Cheshire. The West Kirby stone is covered with scales shaped like pears, either tiling, or a representation of leaves as in some classical examples; at the bottom is a system of interlacing bands, and at the top a row of buckles with a strap running through. This last ornament is unique in this position, but bears a considerable resemblance to ornamentation at Prestbury, on the font at St. Martin's, Canterbury, and on a fragment at Whalley (plate vi., *fig.* 12). The stag on the stone at Heysham has some interest attached to it. It has broad horns, and, therefore, is of the platycerine class; and, as it is not a reindeer, it is said to be a rude representation of an elk. The scene on this side of the stone can scarcely be anything but an animal-hunt; it is not like the hunts which have reference to the trials of the Christian soul on its passage through the world. The weather was so exceedingly bad when I was at Heysham, very heavy rain and high wind, that I did not finish off my rubbings of the stone to the two ends. The outlines of the ends are therefore rather vague; but I have since seen an engraving by my friend Mr. Romilly Allen (*Journal of the British Archæological Association* for September, 1886, p. 340), and I find that they are fairly correct. The termination at each end is a rude quadruped on its hind quarters. In some cases, notably at Brompton, near Northallerton, and on the Brompton stones in the library of the Dean and Chapter at Durham, the stones end with the huge heads of bears, the heads at the two ends facing one another; some of these heads have the snouts muzzled, and some are very well designed. The stones in the churchyard at Penrith are hog-backed, and though their ornamentation is supposed to have perished beyond recovery, it is, in fact, easily made out to be a representation of the scales of some monster, exactly like those on a hog-backed stone at Meigle, in Scotland.

The rectangular variety of the hog-backed stone will repay the research of those interested in these matters. I shew outlined rubbings of two of the most remarkable examples of this form from Meigle.* The strikingly accurate representations of *bison priscus*, bear, &c., on these stones may well make us wonder why it was that while animals on English stones are so uncouth, those on Scottish stones are so marvellously skilful. These stones are of the shape of long boxes, with flat tops and vertical sides; the famous "Pictish" stones of the east of Scotland are flat, thin, upright stones, with a great cross up the middle, and animals, &c., on each side of the central cross. It is well worth investigation which is the original form: did the rectangular hog-back become the flat, upright stone, by being reared up, with its sides opened out like the doors of a triptych, or did the beautifully-ornamented Pictish stone pass into a recumbent stone, with the parts containing animals, &c., folded vertically downwards?

The exceedingly curious graves cut in the solid rock at Heysham are well known, lying side by side on that remarkable promontory looking over the sea. There is at the head of each a little square hole. The surface of the rock around them is smooth, with one exception of so remarkable a character that I am surprised it has never been noticed. The narrow ledge of rock between the edge of the cliff and the grave nearest to it is covered with interlacing work. I felt sure it was so, but the day was so wet and stormy that I could not take rubbings. Mr. W. O. Roper has done that for me, and the rubbings are now hanging on the wall of the room, with the pattern traced out.† I believe

* These rubbings are not reproduced in the plates. The stones are figured in Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland.*

† The paper used was not suitable for outlining with ink. A tracing of one part of the pattern will be found in plate v., *fig.* 9.

PLATE I.

2, Bolton

5.

1. Bolton

3.

4.

6.

3 to 9. Bolton

9.

8.

7.

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that, originally, the whole of the surface was covered with beautifully-sculptured interlacing bands, and that over each grave was put, probably, a hog-backed stone, and at the head, standing in each of the little holes, was a beautifully-sculptured cross, of the character shewn by the fragment still remaining in the churchyard at Heysham. There is a striking connection between the stones at Meigle and these graves at Heysham. So far as I know, the peculiarity I am about to mention has not been observed before at Meigle. Each of the hog-backed stones there has a hole cut in the top near one end. These holes, I think, can only have acted as sockets for small crosses, not necessarily of stone. Possibly wicker-work or wooden crosses were placed in the holes, kept in repair by the friends of the deceased.

There is a very curious shaft in the churchyard at Heysham.* The device on it clearly represents, to my mind, an early Christian church. I was very much struck by the singular likeness of the carving on this shaft to the representation of an early church in one of the east windows of the Temple Church. There was at Hoddam, in Dumfriesshire, a stone which had a similar representation.† The church shewn on the shaft at Heysham has crosses springing from the apex and eaves of the gable. It has three windows in the upper part, with the head and neck of a person shewing in each window; this feature is absent at Hoddam, but there are the heads of two people craning out from the two sides of the panel. The scene in the Bayeux tapestry, where people look out of windows to see Harold's return to England, bears a striking resemblance to this. Lower down are four small orifices, two on each side of a doorway. The

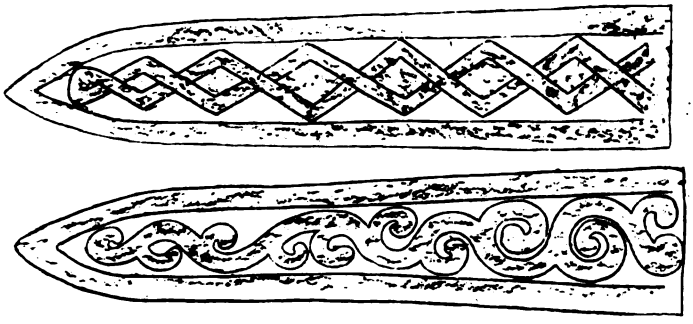
---

* Plate v., *figs.* 5, 6, 7, 12.

† It is figured in Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, and the stone itself is now in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

doorway is filled by a large figure clothed in a manner which may represent either swaddling clothes, or grave clothes, or some ornamental or official dress. At Sandbach there is, on the larger cross, a representation of the Nativity, and though the details have, to a great extent, perished, the swaddling clothes are indicated in a manner not unlike that seen at Heysham. For anyone who has seen the mosaic of the raising of Lazarus in S. Vitale, at Ravenna, it is difficult to believe that the Heysham scene and the Ravenna representation have no connection in the way of a common source. The four small orifices, in the shape of Romanesque arches, have never, so far as I know, been supposed to contain anything decipherable. But I think they contain respectively an eagle, a lion, a calf, and a man, each holding a book, and thus representing the Evangelists. If the rector, who received me with very warm hospitality, would allow the stone to be well washed with soft soap, I believe these remarkable features would come out fairly well. This and the sculptured interlacement on the surface of the rock are new and unique features among the ancient treasures at Heysham. Another feature, of a minor character, which has escaped the notice of others who have described this stone, is the lower part of the beautiful scroll on one edge (v. 5). The scroll is seen, on close examination, to proceed out of the mouth of a dragon, whose top lip is long drawn out, while one of the legs is stretched out and supports with its claw the stem of the scroll, as a man might support a trumpet in his mouth by means of one hand stretched out as far as he could reach.

The cross found at Lancaster itself is well known. Professor G. Stephens figured and described it in the first volume of his *Runic Monuments;* and after recounting the curious vicissitudes through which it had passed, he congratulated archæologists that it was at last safe for ever,



3, 4, Whalley

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being deposited in the Manchester Museum. How it comes to be now in the British Museum I must leave Manchester to say. This cross has often been engraved, with its inscription, which has been variously read and interpreted, and may probably be taken to mean—

Pray for Cynibalth Cuthbert's son.

But as I believe that further investigations in Lancaster and its immediate neighbourhood will lead to further discoveries, and my experience goes to shew that there was in each important district a local style of Anglian art, I may as well give my rubbings of this interesting monument, to be ready for comparison with the new stones when discovered (plate iii. 9, 10). The ornament on the back of the cross (*fig.* 9) much resembles the ornament—otherwise, I believe, unique — on some of the stones found at Adel, near Leeds, and now preserved in a building near Adel Church, across the road; a very early date, practically pre-historic, has been assigned by some writers to the Adel stones, probably on no very sufficient grounds (plate iii. 11; vi. 3).

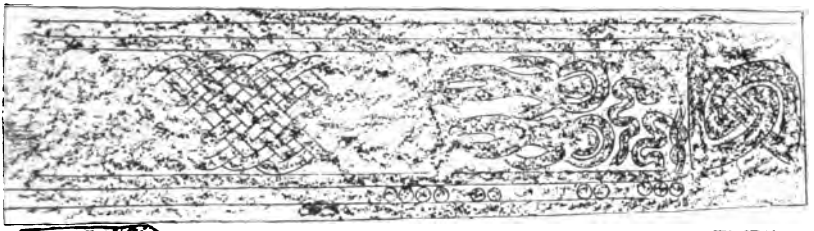
Mr. Roper having informed me that there were said to be fragments of sculptured stones in the north side of Lancaster Church, we examined the walls and very soon found three or four pieces. They are some of them almost too far gone, but we made out the patterns fairly well (plate iii., *figs.* 5 to 8). It is an interesting fact that one of the patterns is exactly the same as a pattern—a decidedly rare pattern—on one of the Halton stones, a mile or two off. It would be easy to take one or two at least of these stones out of the wall, and there is a good chance of finding some carving on their other sides. A more prolonged examination than we were able to give might very probably discover other fragments. The archæologists of Lancaster might well set about this investigation, especially as they have thus an opportunity of

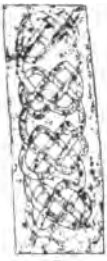
doing something to retrieve the loss the city sustained when the Cynibalth cross was taken away.

The churchyard and porch at Halton, near Lancaster, are full of interest.* The shaft in the churchyard will repay the greatest care that can be given to its detailed examination by the members of the Society. From an article on Halton and Heysham, by my friend Mr. J. Romilly Allen, in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for September, 1886, p. 330, I learn that the upper part of the shaft in the churchyard was removed by the rector in 1635, in order that the portion now remaining might be converted into a sundial. On the east side are two panels, one shewing two human figures, in a sitting posture, engaged in washing the feet of a seated figure (iv. 2); the other shewing two figures on pedestals, on either side of a tall cross. These figures on pedestals are unique, so far as I remember; the pedestals look late, but I thing that is accidental. Taking it that this is the Christian side of a cross erected at a time of transition, we might expect to find on the other side some reference to another belief or to the legends of another race. Turning to the west side (iv. 1) we find a smith at work with a pair of bellows,—really two, not one, as we now mean by a "pair of bellows." He is forging a large pair of pincers, as he sits on a well-designed chair. Below his chair is the overthrown bust of a man, or else a coat of mail. Above him is a sword of the heavy type shewn in the sculpture of the Sigurd legend on the cross at Leeds, on a stone in Mann, and on rough stone monuments in Scandinavia; also a second hammer, a second pair of pincers, and a human body with a figure-of-eight knot intertwined in a circle in place of a head, an object at his feet perhaps representing his head. We may safely say that there is not in the whole island

* See plate iv. 1–7, plate v. 8, and plate vi. 4–7.

1. Whalley





5.

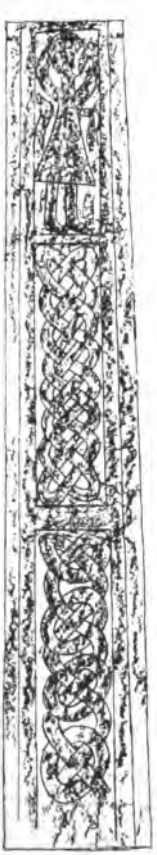
6.

7.

8.

9.

5 to 10, Lancaster.



3.

4.

11. Adel.

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such a panel as this. My own belief is that it sets forth Völund (our Weyland Smith) and his slaughter of the two sons of the king who kept him in confinement to do smith's work. The Franks Casket at the British Museum has two dead bodies and Völund at work; another scene from Völund's story (see the Völundr Saga) is shewn on the Leeds cross, Völund carrying off a swan-maiden. The acceptance by Scandinavian archæologists of my interpretation of the Leeds panels, and the clear evidence of the existence of scenes from the Sagas on the cross at Gosforth, in Cumberland, may be taken as having established the combination—never dreamed of till four or five years ago—of pagan and Christian representations on the same stone. I may add, in writing out these notes, that since I addressed the Society a confirmation of the Saga view has been found in Mann, of a character so convincing as to have converted the well-known archæologist who has hitherto been the most determined opponent of the view.

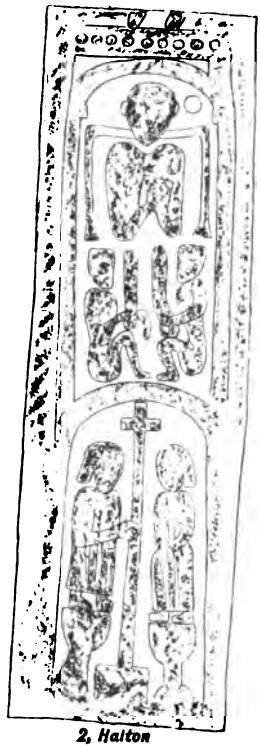
The half-panel next above, I should suppose, has reference to some other event in the Sagas. There is a well-designed man, with a really fine profile of Roman type, apparently clapping his hands. In front of him is something which I at first took for the fore legs of a quadruped, hampered with interlacing bands into which his hoofs branch off, as on the shrine-shaped stone found at Bakewell and now in the Weston Museum, Sheffield. The upper part is so much gone that it is difficult to say whether it can be the body of a horse or not. The man's attitude is that of a groom in a field, quietly getting hold of a horse's head to put the halter on. I specially commend this panel to the study of the Society. The other half-panel seems to represent the stalks of something growing, ending in flowers or with birds perched on them. This, again, deserves great care. I keep

returning to the feeling that the two half-panels shew a man working a net for catching birds.

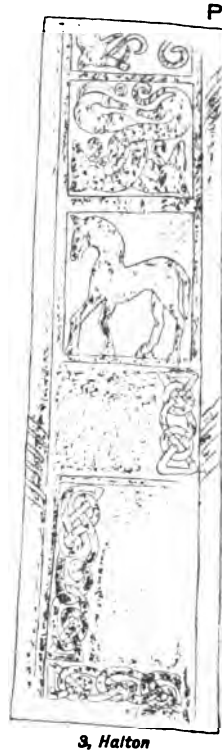
Another side (iv. 3) has two points of special interest. One is a horse, all alone in a panel, a thing quite unique, I think; and, with the exception of one fore leg, it is a fairly good horse, whereas the very few horses found on English stones are exceedingly bad. The horses on Scottish stones, on the other hand, are exceedingly good. It is difficult not to think of the position held by the horse in the worship of the Angles and Saxons, and of the determined persistence in eating horse-flesh at Christian religious festivals, which gave so much trouble to the bishops and priests quite late in Anglo-Saxon times. The other point of interest is the blank panels with interlacing border. They seem to point to inscriptions; possibly some quick Lancashire eye may yet find the lingering runes. The upper panels have convolutions of dragons. The remaining side (iv. 7) has very pretty intertwining branches, and some unusual interlacing work.

Inside the door opening out of the porch is a very valuable fragment, possibly the top of the shaft removed in 1635. After suspecting the presence of the four evangelistic symbols at Heysham in the morning, it was very interesting to find them unmistakably here in the afternoon. It is enough to shew the rough outlined rubbings (vi. 4-7) of the sides of this fragment. I shew also the rubbings of four stones built into the west wall of the porch (iv. 4-6, v. 8), of the same character as the fragment last described, with the same round-headed panels and square capital at each side for the spring of the arch. It is probably unnecessary to warn members of the Society against the confident assertion that these features "must be as late as Norman." In order to make quite safe, I shew a tracing of a human figure from a Greek stele in the Fitzwilliam Museum, at Cambridge, with almost exactly the

1, Halton



2, Halton



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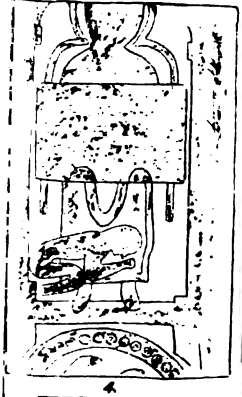

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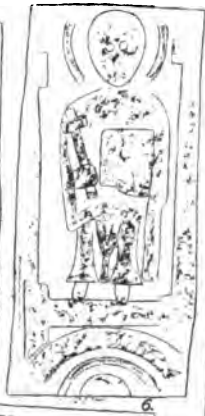

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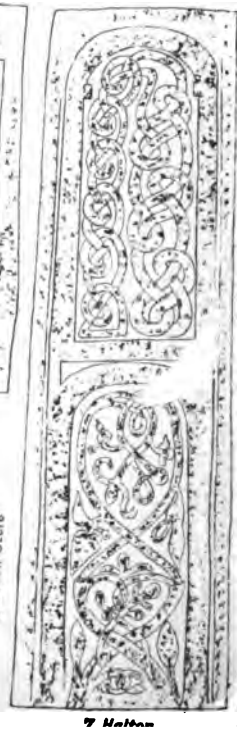
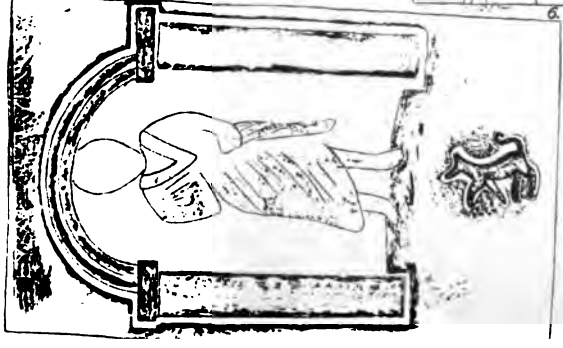
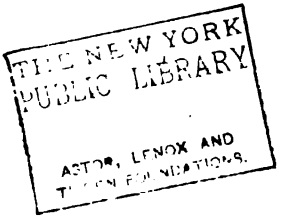


7, Halton



8, Greek Stele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same features; by a coincidence which I did not observe when I began to take it, it has a dog as like the dog at Heysham as two dogs can well be, of which one was cut in sandstone in Lancashire perhaps one thousand years ago, and the other in white marble in Asia Minor, perhaps two thousand years ago (see plate iv. 8). The doorway of King Edward's palace in the Bayeux tapestry, in the first scene, is the same down to minute details as these Heysham panels. They are more Roman than Norman, so far as the two differ.

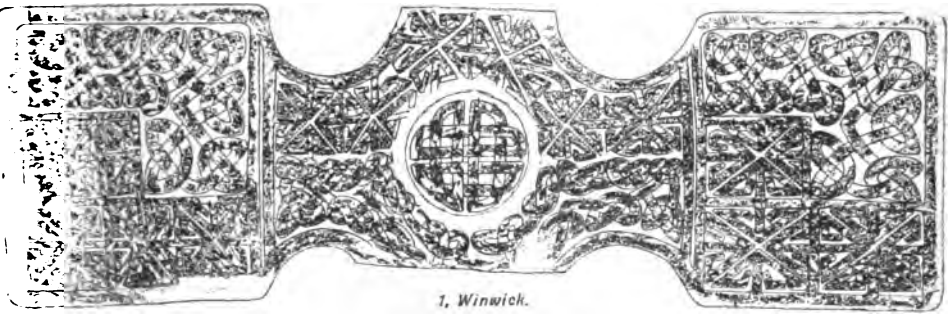
At Bolton there are a considerable number of remarkable fragments in a room in the tower.* There are two very large flat stones,† with a key on one of them, said to have been found under the bases of a Saxon arch; these, on investigation, prove to be parts of one stone, which must have been an early grave-slab of very unusual dimensions. There is also a portion of what may have been a tympanum (i. 5), with a nondescript monster which Lancashire may claim as a monster it would be difficult for any other English county to match. There is a monster on an early slab of white marble in a yard behind the Church of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, in Rome, which may compete with the Lancashire ideal. There is another stone with a round-headed arch on it and square capitals, reminding us in principle of those at Halton, which again Lancashire may challenge other counties to parallel (i. 6), perhaps a literal rendering of the text: "If thine hand offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee." There is, besides, a portion‡ of a large head of a cross of the circular type, *i.e.*, where the head and arms spread out like fans till they nearly meet, and their curved extremities form almost a continuous circle, like the head of

* See plate i. 1–9. † These are not shewn in the plates.
‡ This is not shewn in the illustrations.

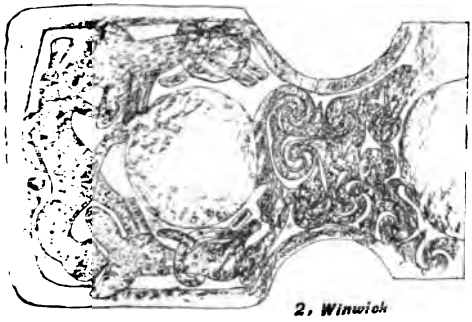
the Godly Lane cross, Burnley. And there are three fragments, which, when put together as they no doubt ought to be, would make nearly or quite the whole of an early and interesting cross. I shew (i. 1-4) the various sides of the two fragments of shaft, one on the top of the other. The head is at another part of the room (i. 7-9); it has on its outer edges the same patterns which run up the edges of the shaft (3, 4, 7, 8), shewing that they are parts of the same monument. I would suggest that these three old friends should be once more united, and placed in some position where visitors to the magnificent new Church of St. Peter might see the handiwork of their Christian forefathers in times when this cross was possibly the only Christian stone standing on the hill side.

Whalley churchyard is a place of which Lancashire archæologists may well be proud. There are few places in England to rival it in the interest of its sculptured stones.* The great shaft which stands about the middle of the churchyard (ii. 1, 2; edges, 3, 4) must take us back a long way into our early Anglian history. I know of no stone anywhere which really resembles it in the remarkably bold spirals with which it is ornamented—bold alike in their design and in their relief. It will be noticed, however, that the effect of a gable sculptured on each side, with a central spine running up the stone from the apex of the gable, can scarcely but have some connection with the like arrangement on the Bolton shaft. And this idea is carried further, and indeed effectively established I think, by the similarity of the ornamentation on one edge at Whalley and Bolton (i. 4 and ii. 4); while there is a small fragment at Bolton, which I did not mention and do not shew, which has a horizontal section closely resembling that of the

* See plate ii. 1-4, and plate iii. 1-4.

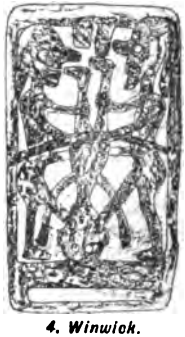


1, Winwick.

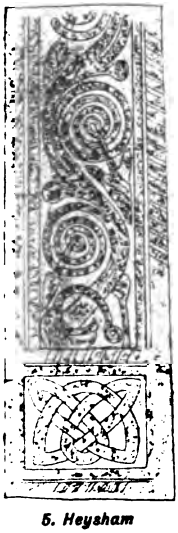


2, Winwick

3, Winwick.



4. Winwick.

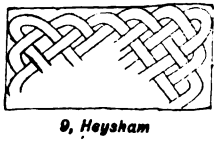


5. Heysham

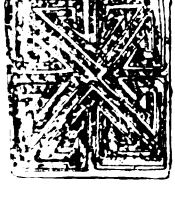
6. Heysham

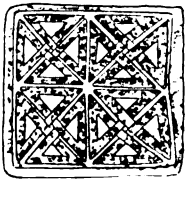
7. Heysham

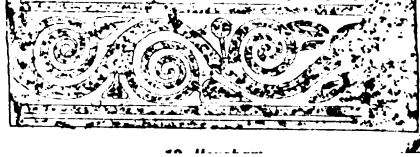
8. Halton



9, Heysham







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fragment set on the top of the shaft at Whalley, with a raised bar passing up the centre of each edge. This Bolton fragment, by the way, I believe has been elaborately sculptured all over with minute interlacements, and I advise any enthusiastic worshipper of sculptured stones to get leave to move it from its present position into a place with a good light, where he can feel it all over and study it with that elaborate care which it needs and I believe deserves. The spiral scrolls at Whalley are much like those on the roof of the alcoves in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, at Ravenna. The whole question of the occurrence of classical scrolls on Anglian stones is one of the deepest interest; my own belief is that we owe it to Wilfrith of Ripon and York and Hexham, who found in Rome, and at Ravenna if he went to Ravenna, not only an abundance of that interlacing ornament which a short-sighted view gives as a monopoly to Hibernian designers and their imitators, but also beautiful scrolls, either scrolls pure and simple, or scrolls each with an animal or a bird involved in it, eating the fruit with which each member of the scroll ends. The great shafts at Ruthwell and Bewcastle are among the grandest examples, but they are equalled in beauty by many a fragment less known or scarcely known at all.

Mr. J. Arthur Waddington has published a paper on "The Crosses in and around Burnley" (Burnley, Burghope and Strange, 1884), with drawings of the Whalley crosses, which those who wish to study them should certainly see. My rubbings (iii. 1; iii. 2-4) carry the decipherment of the patterns on the two other shafts at Whalley further than Mr. Waddington's excellent and interesting drawings do. No doubt, with time, a good deal more could be determined. On one of my two visits there was snow and sleet and wind, and on the other heavy rain and wind, and under those circumstances it is impossible to do justice to even a very distinct stone.

These two shafts require very close attention, and I shall rejoice if my rubbings induce anyone with skill and patience to go and lay regular siege to the shafts. It will be seen that there are plenty of problems left for solution on one panel after another, and I am by no means sure of all the details I have outlined; no one could be, in such weather as that in which the rubbings were taken. The tall, slender shaft (iii. 2-4) is rich in its variety, being divided into an unusual number of panels. The panel with the "diagonal" pattern, next but one to the bottom, is of a character which a year or two ago was thought almost unknown in England; there is, however, a good deal of it at Stonegrave, in Yorkshire; there is one panel at South Church, Bishop Auckland; there is a good example of it on Lindisfarne; and, as we shall see shortly, Lancashire has a supply of it, unrivalled in England, at Winwick.

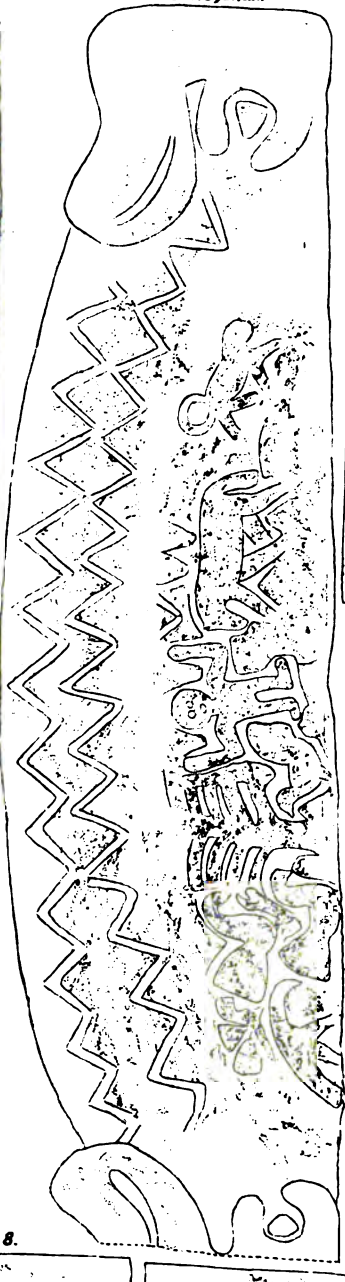
There are several fragments at Whalley, besides these three shafts. A pretty and delicate fragment forms part of the back of the sedilia; there is at least one piece in the south wall of the chancel, outside, and there are fragments lying on the ground near this (vi. 8, 9, 12). One of these, shewing a system of oval buckles, as it were, with straps through them, closely resembles a stone found—but now lost—at Prestbury, and, in a less degree, the ornament on the hog-backed stone at West Kirby, both in Cheshire.

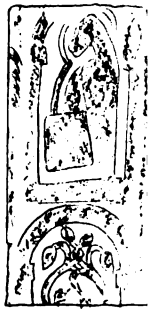
The great fragment of a cross-head at Winwick remains to be described.* So far as I know, there is only one cross-head in England which exceeds it in size, namely, the large fragment in the crypt at Lastingham, which is about two inches longer in the arm. The other portions of the remarkable monument at Winwick are of course buried somewhere in the churchyard or in the walls of the church, and if they

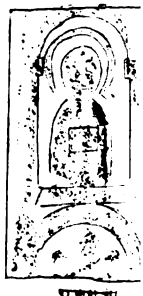
* See plate v. 1-4, 10, 11.

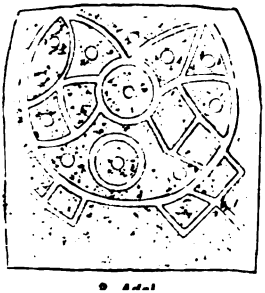
1. Heysham

2. Heysham









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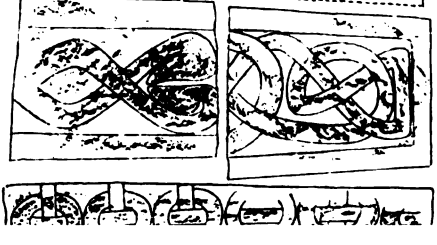

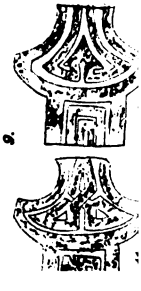

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are ever found they are likely to prove very instructive. The portion of the head which is now at Winwick consists of the boss and the two arms. It is cemented on to two brick piers, upside down. A portion of one of the faces has been chiselled smooth, to make a place for an epitaph in memory of somewhat modern parishioners, the fragment having been set up on end as a tombstone. The rubbings shew the patterns sufficiently. The abundance of "diagonal" ornament must strike everyone at once; there is scarcely as much of it in all England besides as on this one stone. And the curious arrangement of a succession of Stafford knots, the single interlacing band wandering about and forming knots till all the surface is covered, is very remarkable. The arrangement of the Stafford knots on the arch of an early baldacchino in the sarcophagus gallery at the Lateran in Rome is the nearest approach to this which I can recall. There will be noticed, too, the existence of spirals formed of three lines converging towards a common centre, a very unusual feature on English stones, carried to its extreme development on the font at Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, where the converging lines are four instead of three.

These features, of very unusual size and ornamentation, are in themselves sufficient to give the Winwick fragment a high place in interest among sculptured stones. But the most remarkable points have yet to be mentioned. One face of one of the arms has been smoothed off, as has been said, to make a flat surface for a late inscription. The same face of the other arm has suffered at the same time, but in a less degree (v. 2). It has had a large central boss, no doubt covered with interlacements, perhaps of the same character as those on the main boss in the centre of the head. Round this boss are huge misshapen animals, with specially abnormal heads. Their tails observe carefully the law of alternate "under and over" which lies at the founda-

tion of all interlacing patterns; but in other respects the design and the execution of this part could scarcely be more rough. The presence of these rude animals of necessity reminds us of the great animals on each side of the vertical shaft on the Scottish cross slabs; and it is practically impossible to dissociate the two, especially when we consider the exceedingly "Celtic" character of the ornamentation already spoken of on various parts of this head. This may make us ask again, How is it that in England the sculptors were so unable to produce a decent-looking animal, while in Scotland the animals sculptured on the stones are admirable, far beyond anything contained in the very best of the early mediæval "bestiaries?" And this question is more striking than ever at Winwick, where the rest of the work is so elaborate and so careful and good.

It is, however, to the two outer extremities of the arms of the Winwick cross that we must look for the chief interest of the sculpture. One (3) shews a man with two buckets (?), the other (4) shews a man being held head downwards by two ferocious-looking men, who have got a saw between them, and are either sawing him asunder or are preparing to saw off his arms, which hang down conveniently for that purpose. Now, if we cast our eyes up to the string-course of the church at the west end, we shall find a number of Latin verses, in antique letters, running along the face of the walls, beginning with—

Hic locus, Oswalde, quondam placuit tibi valde,

"this place, Oswald, once was greatly pleasing to thee." We remember that the good King Oswald of Northumbria had a home here, and that Winwick, in Macerfield or Makerfield, contests with the neighbourhood of Oswestry the claim to be the Maserfield where Oswald was slain in battle, A.D. 642, by his pagan enemy, Penda. Then we remember that after

the fatal battle, Penda had Oswald's body dismembered, and some of its parts set up on a cross (or "tree"), whence Oswestry got its name, as "Oswald's tree." The story does not say how far Penda had to send the members before they reached the place where they were impaled. Once more, we remember that the local tradition, which makes Winwick the scene of the battle, adds that Oswald's body lay in a slack place, and that under it a spring of water came into existence, forming eventually a miracle-working well; and "Oswald's Well" is there to this day. Now, look at the two panels, and ask, Is it possible to despise the suggestion that we have here Oswald's dismemberment, and water being carried from Oswald's Well?

The panel which has the man and the buckets has a curious representation in one top corner, and also a long cross in one part and a short one in another. I thought at first that the former might be Oswald's crown-helmet, and the others his sceptre and cross-hilted sword, all laid aside while he drew and carried water, dressed in a common smock, for his poor neighbours. But Oswald's Well was formed, the story goes, after his death. It is about three-quarters of a mile from the church. Is it possible that the representation in the top corner is that of the original Anglian church (St. Oswald's) of Winwick, with its three crosses on the roof, while the other crosses are the sculptured crosses set up between Oswald's Church and Oswald's Well? If that is so, then here is another representation of a church on a Lancashire stone, the one at Heysham having been up to this time unique in England.

It is necessary to add that a very different view of one of these panels is held by archæologists of repute. The objects carried by the man on the one end are called bells, hand-bells. They are by no means unlike the early saints' bells of which we have record, some of which actually exist, a

good deal resembling the sheep-bells of some parts. My own impression is that the objects here are too large for bells of that early period for hand use. The bells carried by the side of King Edward's body to his burial at Westminster, shewn on the Bayeux tapestry, are considerably smaller in proportion than these, and so are all the ancient handbells I have seen. I think, too, that the handles of the objects on the Winwick cross are unlike the handles of bells; and on one of the objects I seem to see the ordinary arrangement of a strip of flexible wood carried round and round, like the worm of a screw, forming the sides of the bucket, or possibly a wisp of straw carried round the bucket.

CHURCH LAWTON MANOR RECORDS.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF A BUNDLE OF COMPOTI, COURT LEET AND COURT BARON RECORDS, OF THE MANOR OF CHURCH LAWTON, CHESHIRE, ILLUSTRATIVE OF GENEALOGY, LOCAL MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ETC.

BY FRANK RENAUD, F.S.A.

THE value of such documents, as historical records, cannot be more comprehensively or lucidly set forth than in the following words of Professor Chantler, in a paper prepared by him, and read to the fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, London, on the 4th of February, 1886, by Mr. Justice Fry: "That if these records of the various manors of England had been preserved in their entirety, we should have had in them ample materials for a history of the commonalty, which helped so materially to found our British Empire, which told us how we were housed, fed, and trained, which illustrated alike topography, genealogy, and social life, and in respect of genealogy were invaluable."

As a sequel to Professor Chantler's communication, the society passed a resolution requesting that steps should be taken to extend the historical value of the court rolls of the manors in this country, and insure their due preservation.

This appeal, having proved an incentive, will, I trust, also prove my justification for bringing a summary of the contents of such of the rolls of Church Lawton manor as have

escaped destruction under the notice of our local society. With many intervening gaps, they date from the last year of the reign of Henry V. to the penultimate year of the reign of William and Mary; in other words, from 1421 to 1700. In all there are forty-seven documents, divided as follows:—

Four compoti dating respectively 10 Henry V., and 1, 2, and 3 Henry VI., 1421 to 1430.
One court roll of 33 Henry VIII., 1541-2.
Four court rolls of Elizabeth, 1574 to 1591.
Fourteen court rolls of James I., 1603 to 1623.
Ten court rolls of Charles I., 1626 to 1648.
Eight court rolls of Charles II., 1658 to 1673.
One court roll of James II., 1685.
Five court rolls of William and Mary, 1693 to 1700.

Up to the 33rd Henry VIII., the abbots of Saint Werburg's Monastery, at Chester, were superior lords of Church Lawton Manor, and the compoti relate to such portions and possessions only as were subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but when, at the dissolution of the monastery, the ecclesiastical was joined to the lay moiety, by letters patent, granted to William Lawton, he and his successors became supreme lords, together with full rights and prerogatives. Hence from this time, the rolls became evidence of courts leet and court baron, embracing a much more extended area. Such courts leet were essentially courts of record, and although only events occurring within the manorial precincts were taken cognizance of, they nevertheless constituted as much the unit of civil life in England as the municipal courts did that of municipal law (Professor Gneist).

Manorial courts were held once at the least every year, and the usual time was at or about Michaelmas. If the whole of the business could not be transacted at one sitting,

it was customary to adjourn to some early day following, in which case the court leet, as being the superior court, would be held first, and the court baron afterwards. A seneschall or steward presided, who ranked as a gentleman, and was customarily, though not necessarily, a lawyer. Generally speaking, his duties consisted in administering an oath to the jurors, seeing that all who owed suit and service attended or were fined, dispensing petty justice to dwellers within the manor, seeing to the recovery of small debts not exceeding forty shillings, taking cognizance of brawls, frays, encroachments, removals of boundaries, breaking down of hedges, and such like; also duly recording deaths, heriots, and successions, and seeing that the views of franc pledge were statutorily taken. Finally, the proceedings were rendered into Latin, and copied on a roll of parchment or paper for future reference. Hence the term, "Copy of court roll." Thus it may be said, without going into further minute detail, that a manorial court with full prerogatives greatly resembled a police court and a county court of the present day, in which all concerns of secondary moment were dealt with, whilst matters of graver consequence were relegated to judges itinerant, or of assize. For all practical purposes, a court leet (Saxon "leod," or people), and a view of frank pledge, were convertible terms, because, in the courts granted by royal charter, and continued by prescription, to lords of manors, freemen pledged themselves to be surety for the King's peace in all matters coming within the purview of the manor. Each free-born subject, on attaining the age of fourteen years, had to take an oath of allegiance, and have his name entered on the roll, which public function was called a "view," or examination of free pledge. He had, moreover, to provide nine freemen pledged to produce him within thirty-one days, or else answer in their own persons. Hence the terms, "free pledge" and "tithing."

The seneschall or steward was assisted by subordinate officials, who were freeholders, whose relative duties and obligations varied with surrounding circumstances, though the same general principles applied equally to all courts. There were: 1st. Affeerors or assessors, *i.e.* substantial tenants elected to see that non-statutory fines were neither vexatious nor disproportioned to the offences committed. "Whatsoever the jury find, they present to the steward, and on every presentment an amercement follows, which is afterwards assessed in open court, and *affeered* or reduced to a precise sum by two or more suitors sworn to be impartial" (Blackstone). 2nd. Jurors selected from amongst the principal tenants, in numbers varying from twelve to eighteen. Sometimes one jury was selected for the king and another for the lord of the manor, and at others both were grouped together and fulfilled these functions conjointly (juratores, sive Homagii, pro Domino Rege et pro Domino Manerii). 3rd. Constables. 4th. Burleymen. The duties of the affeerors and jurors terminated with the sitting of the court, whilst those of constable and burleymen lasted the whole year. To each of these elected officers a form of oath was administered by the steward, by which they bound themselves to do justice between man and man without fear, favour, or malice, and to present all offenders against either legal statute or locally-established custom at the next sitting of the court.

But, as it forms no part of the present subject to enter upon a full detail of all the routine practices observed, I content myself with giving the form of oath administered to burleymen in this particular district of Cheshire, partly because the duties of these officers differed, and were more extensive in some manors than in others, and principally because the tenour of the oath serves best to define those duties:—

"You shall well and truly view and oversee convenient hedgements to be had and made between neighbour and neighbour. You shall also present such as do use to bear away other men's turves, firewood, and peats, cutters down and carriers away of quickwood and hedgerows not being their own, and you shall present all such offenders herein at the next court after the offence committed, so help you God."*

The first compotus is dated 1421, and is headed, "Compotus Johis de Lauton Ballivi Man'ii de Lauton de omn'bs receptivis et expen's p ipm' fcts' a festo sc'i Michīs Archi anno regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum decimo usque idem festū ex tunc px' sequens p unū annū integrum." That is, "The account of John de Lawton Bailiff of the Manor of Lawton, of all receipts and payments made by him from Michaelmas in the tenth year of the reign of Henry the fifth, to Michaelmas following, for a whole year." Not to overlay my remarks with needless details, I will briefly summarise the contents of this and the remaining accounts, embracing a period of eight years, as their chief present interest centres in the names of the persons mentioned. (See Appendix.)

1. The average annual receipts from rents and fines from tenants of the ecclesiastical moiety of the manor came to between £10 and £11 at this period.

2. As no mention is made of any suit or service having been due from members of the Lawton family to the monastic authorities, the independence of the lay moiety from the ecclesiastical is thus further emphasized and demonstrated.

3. Henry de Ravenscroft is stated in the first compotus to

* I am indebted to Mr. Sheldon, of the neighbouring town of Congleton, for having extracted this form of affidavit from the Congleton archives, and made it public.—F. R.

have been the immediate predecessor (nuper seneschallum) of John de Lawton, who is styled esquire (equitus) on the endorsement.

4. Amongst other disbursements there is 3^{d} of rent due from Edward de Legh, which could not be recovered without legal proceedings; also 1/- paid to Beatrice Maddock for maintaining in good repair a watercourse running thro' her grounds from the mill race; also 4^{d} paid to the heirs of Thomas Wolf, pending an undetermined law suit (pro causa Consilii), literally time allowed to one accused to make his defence, and answer the charge of the accuser (see Jacob's *Law Dictionary*).

In the second compotus it is stated that the water mill, which formerly yielded an annual rent of 40/-, was farmed out to Richard Eardley for 20/-. The bailiff's stipend is fixed at 6^{s}/8^{d}. Then the same entry is made of payment for keeping clear the mill race, only Beatrice Maddock had become the wife of John de Lawton.

In the third compotus an entry is made of money paid to William Crowgate "Abyttmon" for bread purchased; and of an agreement come to between Edward de Legh and the steward of the lord abbot for a payment of thirteen shillings and four pence for the mill race. The money payment previously allotted to the heirs of Thomas le Wolfe is in this, and the succeeding compotus, paid to a Thomas le Wolfe personally present.

A hiatus of more than a century now occurs between the compoti and the first court leet, viz., from 1429 to 1541, when all the manorial rights had passed from the Abbot of St. Werburg to William Lawton. Immediately antecedent to this change Sir William Brereton was steward, with a stipend of 20 shillings, on an annual rental of £12 . 4 . 5.

Although this roll is a lengthy document, it is a typical

one withal, and is therefore given with greater amplitude than succeeding ones, with the view to avoid needless repetitions in them.

"*Court held at the Manor of Churche Lauton the 28th day of May, in the 33d year of the reign of Henry 8.*

"Judgment taken on oath of Robert Lawton, John Comberbach, William Chauntler, John Huls, Lawrence Lawton, Thomas Hughes, John Walton, Thomas Twemlow, Andrew Twemlow, Robert Untroyd junr, Richard Wolf, James Berge, William Legh, John Fallows, William Birch, and Robert Hall, jurymen, who say upon oath that, Ralph Parkynson, William Lawton, Roger Combach, Thomas Rowley, John Thornton junr, William Cartwright, John Drakeford, and John Twemlow junr are tenants, and ought not to have absented themselves from this court."

They were one and all fined 3d each for the same. And that John Ryley encroached on a certain parcel of land called a lane of this lordship, and a parcel of land, belonging to this lordship, on a certain path or way used (Fined 6d) by Thomas Hughes, John Huls, and Richd Woodhull. And that the said John Ryley encroached on a headland in Twysiche, and ploughed in Twysiche Meadow. Fined 6d for each offence. And that the Vill of Lawton has not had its boundary drawn properly, and if not done before the Vigil of Pentecost, each tenant will be fined one shilling. And that Hugh Pole, and Ralph Hall were found fishing, each by himself in the waters of the lord of the manor, and drew fish out of the waters with hooks—Fined 6d. And that John Drakeford holds a fee not of this court. Fined 2d.

Affeerors of the Court. { William Chauntler, John Walton. } Inqs.

Then follows a list of the tenants divided into free tenants, tenants at will, and cottagers, numbering 55 in all. The free tenants, each of whom paid a nominal sum of 6d. per year, include the names of Arthur Holford (generosus), Ralph Lyversage, Esq., Ralph Moreton, Hugh Pole, Ralph Legh, Thos. Lawton, Jno. Ryley, and Richd. Weidgin.

From amongst the tenants at will, holding messuages and lands, the names of Thomas, John, and Andrew Twemlow, Richd. Wolfe, and Ralph Legh, gentlemen, may be selected.

Thus far, all business had relation to matters belonging to the manor proper and its lord: but subsequently the view of franc pledge for the manor court was held before W^m^ Glazeor, Gentleman, Steward of the same, on Monday the next after the feast of Saint Lucy the Virgin in the same year of the reign of Henry 8.

Essons { William Chantler, esson for Arthur Holford.
Thomas Kent, esson for Richard Moreton.

Church Lawton. At an inquisition taken on oath by the Inquisitors Ralph Parkinson, Robert Lawton, Rob^t^ Hall, J^no^ Comberbach, W^m^ Chauntler, J^no^ Hulse, Lawrence Lawton, Tho^s^ Hughes, J^no^ Walton, Thomas and Andrew Twemlow, Ralph Lawton, Rob^t^ Untroyd jun^r^, Rich^d^ Wolfe, and Jas. Berge, (each of whom paid 3^d^ for the honor of serving on this jury), who say upon oath that, Richard Strakeford dug out, took, and removed the fyrrewood beyond the Common. Fined 6^d^. And that Robert Gandy kept unlawfully, and punished youths and girls in a room of his house bearing himself dishonestly, &c. Fine 20^d^.

Then about a dozen cases of assault and fighting succeed, of which the following are samples:—

That W^m^ More, gentleman, assaulted Tho^s^ Rowley, and Rowley him. Fined respectively 12^d^ and 7^d^; and the aforesaid W^m^ More was fined 3^s^/4^d^ for assaulting Ralph Kent, and

drawing blood.* That Rob: Legh assaulted Roger Hughes, and Hughes him—fine 12^{d} each; and that Robert Legh assaulted Rich^{d} Walton, and was again fined one shilling.

And that Robert Gandy was fined 2 shillings for unlawfully keeping cards in his house to gamble with, and persuading others in the lordship to play. The players were fined, some one shilling, and others 7^{d}. Several tenants were fined in sums varying from 1 shilling to 6^{d} for encroaching on the common lands, some for ploughing and sowing, and others for building on them. Margaret Holt was fined 3^{d} for cutting and carrying off sedges to light fires. A goodly number of smaller tenants were fined 3^{d} each for cutting turves beyond the Commons, and making wrongful use of herbage. Lawrence Lawton was fined 8^{d} for not having set up a boundary stone in the place from which he had removed it, as he had been ordered to do. Roger Riley was fined 6^{d} for ploughing up, and encroaching upon a belt of land in the lordship. Roger Comberbach was presented for having a stray sheep in his possession, valued at one shilling. John Ryley, Richard Wearam, and Joane Lawton, widow, were found to have kept a certain gate called Reyrfeld Yate wrongfully, and were ordered to remove it under a penalty of 6^{d} & 8^{d} each one. Ralph Leversage was fined 7^{d} because that he being a free tenant had not presented himself to do his suit and service.

Constables William Cleyton, William Chauntler } Jurors

Burleymen John Hulse, Lawrence Lawton } Jurors

Affeerors of the Court Robert Lauton, Thomas Hall } Jurors

* In a later roll this was written "bloodwipe."

Another gap now occurs extending over thirty-three years. The next existing court roll is dated December 6th, 1574, 17 Elizabeth, at which time William Lawton was lord of the manor, and Richard Dutton the steward. Seventy tenants came within the view of franc pledge, nine of whom were free tenants. Of this latter, William Leversage, esquire, Randle Rode, gentleman, and John Holford, gentleman, were fined 6d each "because they appeared not to doe their suete and service there." The names "William Lawton, priest, and of John Lawton, of Snape," are written down amongst the free tenantry.

Thomas Latton and John Minshull were sworn in as constables.

John Wearome and Robert Walton were sworn as borleymen.

There were ten separate presentments for fighting, *i.e.*, "making a fray," and fines were inflicted varying from 2 shillings to 3 shillings and 4 pence.

Two tenants paid the customary toll of 4 pence for buying and selling horses within the manor.

Five tenants were presented and fined for breaking the assize of bread and ale, some 8 pence, and others 6 pence; and two were fined 8d "for selling ale unbeknowne."*

Thomas Rode, gentleman, Richard, and Margaret Cartwright, widow, and William Muttchell were each presented and fined 3 sh: and 4d for grinding corn away from the lord's manor mill.†

Four tenants were fined sixpence each for getting "flat

* The assize of bread and ale signified an ordinance that determined the weight, measure, quality, and price of these articles, any infringement of which was punishable by fine.

† It was customary for tenants to grind all corn grown on the manor at the lord's mill, and when they failed to do so, they were amerced in fines. For this compulsory service, the lord took sometimes one-twentieth, and at others one-sixteenth of the produce, according to local custom.

turves" upon the lord's waste; and a "pene" or fine was ordained to be levied against every one in the manor who should get sand, or dig clay near the highway, to the "annoyance of the King's highway."

Two householders were fined 6d each for having lodgers.

Eleven tenants were presented and fined in sums varying from 1/- to 6d for encroaching on the lord's waste.*

Six tenants, including Ciprian Venables and William Wolfe, were amerced at the suit of other tenants 6d each.

The deaths of John Twemlow and John Walton, two of the lord's tenants, are recorded to have happened since the sitting of the last court, and that heriots had become due to the lord.†

Lastly, several small debts were recovered through presentments made.

October 26. 21 Elizabeth, 1578.

John Lawton, lord of the manor; John Lovatt, steward.

Fourteen jurors were sworn for the Queen (pro Domina Regina).

Sixteen jurors were sworn for the lord of the manor (pro domino manerii predicti).

Wm. Leversage, Esquire, John Holford, John Moreton, and John Nedham, gentlemen, were presented and fined 6d. each, because they should have been present, and were absent.

William Chauntler was fined 2 shillings for not having kept his fences in good repair, as ordered by the burleymen.

Nine tenants were presented and fined for fighting.

The jury presented that John Hassall had feloniously

* The lord's waste represented not only moorland, but lands tenantless and not built upon.

† Heriot, though signifying literally a tribute of the deceased's horse and military equipments, came afterwards to be levied upon his cattle, sheep, &c., which had to be approved by the steward, and was subsequently commuted into a money payment.

possessed himself of two foals? (duos pullos) which had inadvertently strayed, contrary to the peace of the lord and of our lady the Queen; therefore all his goods and chattels were forfeited to the lord of the manor, and were appraised at 40 shillings by the bailiff.

And they presented that Thomas Lawton and Robert Rowley had incurred a fine of 3 sh: and 4^{d} for not having made and maintained a scale (scalus), called in English stelds, between Buddens Greene and the Churche.

And they presented five tenants by name, and sundry others whose names were in the court roll, because they neither possessed nor used "pilios" in accordance with the form of the statute, and therefore each one threw himself on the mercy of the court, and was fined 2^{d} (quod non habent nec utent pilios secundum formam statuti).*

William Hosse and Henry Horden were elected constables.

John Fallows and Ralph Lawton, jun^{r}, were elected burleymen.

The jury declared on oath that Werberg Unwin, widow, who had held a tenement and lands in Lawton had died since the sitting of the last court, and that a heriot of one ox was due to the lord, to be forwarded to and approved by the bailiff, of the value of £3, and that Richard Unwyn was a tenant of the lordship for the said lands and tenement.

A cow, valued at 40 shillings, was declared due on the death of John Fallows, to be similarly approved. John Fallows succeeded him. Two other deaths, heriots, and successions are written on the roll.

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* For an authoritative interpretation of the meaning of this obsolete word I am indebted to Mr. Beamont, of Warrington, who on consulting *Cowel's Interpreter*, found "pilus" or "pileus" described as an arrow with a knob at the end instead of a barb, with which archery was practised at the butts. It was, in fact, a precautionary measure taken against poaching.

A penalty of 3 sh: and 4^{d} was laid upon each tenant unless a "pavin," called in English "pinfold," was properly constructed prior to the festival of the Invention of the Holy Cross.

Upwards of forty actions for the recovery of small debts conclude this roll.

October 22. 32 Elizabeth.

John Ironmonger, steward.

William Hulse and William Shaw were elected burleymen for the ensuing year, vice Thomas Comberbach and Robert Rowley.

The jury presented on oath that the "scopuli," called in English "Schotynge butts," in Lawton, were out of repair, and that the inhabitants would incur a penalty if they remained so after the festival of St. Andrew.*

The jury presented that John Twemlow, who held a messuage, with certain lands and pasture, with appurtenances of the lord, had died (diem clausit extremum) since the holding of the last court, holding the same at will, and paying annually eleven shillings of rent.

Thomas Cooke paid 4^{d} toll for selling a gelding (unum spadonem).

Richard Poole was presented for having in his possession, without a licence from the lord of the manor, "unum viveronum, anglice a Feyrytt, and conye nettys."

Thomas Turner and William Cleyton were elected constables for the ensuing year, and William Hulse and William Shaw the burleymen.

The total fines and amercements amounted to £6 . 2 . 4.

* By a statute passed in the reign of Henry VIII., it was made a fineable offence not to have butts set up in every tithing, so that archery could be practised at all convenient seasons.

October 23. 34 Elizabeth, 1591.

John Lawton, lord of the manor, and John Ironmonger, senior, steward.

The jurors reported that the common pinfold and shooting butt, within the manor, were in good repair, as they ought to be. It was declared that Andrew Twemlow had died since the sitting of the last court, holding one messuage, and six acres of land and moss at the lord's pleasure, paying 36 sh : and 6^{d} for the same yearly, and that he died without landed possessions, and owed a heriot in accordance with custom.*

The death of Thomas Twemlowe, of the " Bonck," is likewise recorded holding a tenement with lands, meadow, pasture, and appurtenances, paying annually eleven sh: and 4^{d} for the same.

Andrew Wolfe had also died since the holding of the last court, and his heriot was commuted to a money payment of twenty six shillings and four pence.

Peter Howpre, gentleman, and John Lawton, cardmaker, were elected constables for the ensuing year; and James Doolye and George Twemlowe, burleymen.

October 20. 1 James I., 1603.

William Lawton, lord of the manor. Tho^{s} Cocks, steward. John Olcott and Thomas Comberbach, constables. Richard Drakford and John Lawton, cardmaker, burleymen.

The jury presented Thomas Lawton, of the Ewtree (Yewtree), for having received into his house an inmate or family for one month, contrary to the form of the statute, and a fine of 10 shillings was imposed for each month.

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* This record is valuable chiefly as marking a departure from rents being paid for the most part by service and in kind. We have here the announcement of a fixed money rental, in addition to customary services.

It was enacted that if any person was found, in the absence of another, "Coddinge his neighbour's peese" (colligendo pisæ) he was to be fined 3 sh: and 4^{d}.

Several tenants were fined for having sold lambs and evaded the customary toll.

September 27. 2 James I., 1604-5.

Thomas Rode, gentleman, and Richard Cartwright were fined ten shillings each for grinding their corn away from the lord's mill.

Richard Drakeford was fined 6^{d} for digging turves on the lord's waste (sespites, anglice turves).

John Lawton, of Snape, and John Walton were elected constables.

Richard Cartwright and Hugh Hall were elected burleymen.

October 4. 3 James I., 1606.

In the first place, at this court, it was declared by the jurors (homagemen) that John Holford, gentleman, who held freely of the lord of the manor for himself and his heirs, had died, holding one messuage, 20 acres of land, and one acre of meadow with appurtenances within the manor, in socage, paying 6^{d} annually for the same. And they also presented that this same John Holford held at the lord's will another parcel of land lying and being in Bredleighe, within the manor, paying 12^{d} a year for the same, and that a heriot was due to the lord in accordance with custom; and that John Holford was son and heir of the aforesaid John, and that he was turned eight years of age.

John Beech and Hugh Hall were elected constables.

William Cleton and Robert Walton were elected burleymen.

It was ordained that a fine of 12^{d} would be imposed on any tenant suffering pigs to run at large.

October 8. 4 James I.

Twenty-nine tenants coming within the view of francpledge were fined 4^{d} each for having made default of attendance at the court.

Richard Cartwright and Margaret Cartwright were again fined 10 shillings for grinding corn away from the lord's mill.

John Wearom, senior, was fined six shillings for breaking the assize of bread and ale, and also for using unlawful games in his house contrary to the form of the statute, "therefore he was in the mercie of his lorde." Six other tenants were similarly dealt with for like offences.

William Mitchell was fined 3 sh: and 4 pence "because he did take awaye turves from his neibours."

A fine of 20 shillings was imposed on the inhabitants because "the butts were not in sufficient reparacion according to the wording of the statute passed on the inhabitants which was printed up on the waste lande."

John Lawton, of Snape, John Twemlowe, William Woulfe, and nine other tenants were fined 20/- each for watering of flax contrary to the statute.

October 7. 6 James I., 1608.

The principal event recorded in this roll is the death of Randle Rode, and the circumstantial details of his tenure, as follows:

The jurors say on oath that Randle Rood, gentleman, who held freely one messuage and forty acres of land, with meadow, pasture, and appurtenances within the lordship of the lord of the manor, by the service of a dole called a broad arrow head, and an annual payment of five pence, had died, and that Randle Rode is his son and next heir (et quod Ranulphus Rood est filius et propinquus heres), and is —— years old. And that a day be named for the

aforesaid jurors to make a better inquiry how the same Randle held in his lifetime under this lordship, under a penalty of 10 shillings forfeit for every juror who should make default. Also that a day should be fixed for the jurors to assemble and make inquiry in a field called Broodlees, near a gate called Lawton Gate.*

John Hobson and Ralph Kent were elected constables.

Roger Fenton and John Lawton, cardmaker, were elected burleymen.

October 6. 7 James I.

William Leversage, Esq., Randle Rode, Gentleman, and Ralph Poole, were each fined 1 shilling because they, being free tenants, had not come to the court.

The jury presented that Margaret Wearame, widow, Joane Twamlowe, widow, Thomas Hyndley, William Swynnerton, Thomas Shaw, and Roger Fenton had broken the assize of bread and ale, and had not sold full measure, or, in English, one quart of their beverage or ale for one penny, according to the statute in that case provided, and therefore each of them forfeited 20 pence, which is the penalty fixed by statute for that default.

It was enacted "that no person within the manor shall suffer any unlawfull gameings and playinge at any unlawful place game to be used within his, or her, or their house or holding, or elsewhere, and shall for everie offence forfeit to the lorde of this manor twentye shillings, Christmas excepted;" also "that any person that doth play at bayles upon the Sabothe day, or holy days, within this manor, shall forfeit for everie tyme to the lorde of this manor 6 shillings and 8 pence.

* Randle the heir was not a son, but grandson to Randle deceased; and this slip of the pen is important as showing that error of statement may inadvertently creep into court rolls. Thomas was son of Randle Rode, and he died in 1602, in his father's lifetime.

Three tenants were presented for not having repaired the king's highway (regiam viam) in accordance with statute provided for such cases.

William Lawton, of Mere, and John Clewley, constables.

Robert Rowley and William Lawton, of the Green, burleymen.

John Mitchell brought an action against William Wolffe for the recovery of "halfe a hoope of barley" (pro dimidio modii hordii).

October 11. 8 James I.

The names of eight free tenants, and of fifty tenants at will, are written down on this roll. Amongst the former, in addition to William Leversage, Randle Rode, and John Holford, gentleman, William Lawton, priest, and John Wearam junr. were declared free on the oath of the jurors, and from that day provided themselves with essons.

Actions were brought to recover damages for "sclanderous words," for "bitinge of swine," for "trespasse in corne with swyne," for "trespass and damage done in leadinge turves and makinge a raw" on a neighbour's land.

John Lawton, of Snape, was fined 5 shillings, for keeping "an unlawfull dogge and killing the lorde's conies in his free warren."

Richard Cartwright and Richard Fynney, constables.

Richard Poole and Robert Walton, burleymen.

October 9. 9 James I.

The jury presented that the pound (ergasculum peccusinum) was ruinous, and a penalty of 20s. was imposed on the inhabitants for its reparation.

Unlawful gaming in houses, and poachings came up for adjudication.

Richard Walton was presented for receiving into his

house (hospitium, anglice lodges) circumvagos or vagabonds or "rogges," contrary to the statute provided for such cases.

The authority of the burleymen is upheld in the instance following:

William de Lawton, priest, was presented for cutting flat turves (cespites) on Lawton Moss; and also for having neglected to repair a certain gate and fence (quoddam viaticum et sepem), as he ought to have done, under a penalty of 9 pence. For not having obeyed this order he was now fined six shillings and 8 pence; and this penalty was subsequently augmented to 10 shillings on account of further disobedience.

On the other hand, Richard Poole, who had been chosen to fill the office of burleyman at the previous court, was presented for neglecting his duty, and threw himself on the mercy of the court accordingly.

The term "yoman," or yeoman is introduced into this roll for the first time.

The names of William Leversage, the heir of Randle Rode, the heir of John Holforde, of William Lawton, priest, John Olcott, and Ralph Kent are written down from amongst free tenants who incurred fines for non-attendance.

October 4. 11 James I.

William Lawton, lord of the manor. W^m^ Hulme, gentleman, steward.

William Leversage, a free tenant, was declared to have died since the holding of the last court.

The jury presented "that John Taylor did steale certeyne wrytinges of Hughe Rowley and that the same were found in his chest, and that he is gonne away, and doth forfeyte to the lord of the leete all his goods and Chattalls."*

* If a man be attainted of a felony, the lord may enter into his copyhold for a forfeiture.

Thomas Shawe brought an action against Richard Fallows to recover a debt of 16 pence, twelve pence of which he had won by unlawful gaming—only 4^{d} was recovered, and the rest disallowed.

Several tenants were fined 3 sh : and 4^{d} each for breaking down their neighbours' hedges; and Mary Drakeford, widow, was fined 6 sh : and 8^{d} for chasing cattle and sheep about on the lord's waste (fugasit averia et oves super vastum domini).

In this roll the line of demarcation between court leet and court baron is defined, on the margin, as follows: and it is here transcribed with the view to show that no hard and fast rule, as set out in printed books, was necessarily observed.

Under the head of court leet came: 1. Fines to free and other tenants for being absent. 2. Tolls for selling horses, cattle, and sheep. 3. Fines for breaking the assize of bread and ale. 4. Heriots due on the death of tenants. 5. Assaults on the person. 6. Poaching. 7. The election of constables.

Under court baron comes: 1. Forfeiture of the goods and chattels of felons. 2. Encroachments on and despoilments of the lord's waste. 3. Recovery of small debts. 4. The making and breaking of hedgements. 5. Adjudications on minor felonies. 6. Election of burleymen.

October 12. 12 James I., 1614.

William Lawton, lord of the manor. Sampson Stubbes, steward.

William Leversage, Esq., the heir of Randle Roode, Esq., and the heir of John Holford, gentleman, were each fined 6^{d} for non-attendance.

Amongst other tenants, William Lawton, priest, paid 8^{d} toll on the sale of two horses.

Anna Lockett, widow, was presented and fined 10 shillings

because she received and took into her house to dwell inmates for one month, contrary to the form of the statute passed in that case.

William Cleyton was fined 6 sh: and 8^{d} for housing wayfarers, beggars, and vagabonds (voyatores mendicatores et circumvagos); and Roger Fenton was fined 20 shillings for keeping and housing lewd and dishonest persons (impuras et inhonestas personas) contrary to the form of statute provided against such practices.

Joane Twemlowe, widow, was fined 6 sh: and 8^{d} for receiving stolen goods and chattels.

John Chantler and Richard Hindley were severally fined 6^{d} for having erected a privy (quædam sterguilinia) for their houses so near to the king's highway as to be a nuisance to passers by.

The jury presented that a certain Edward Vicars had exchanged a lamb with Ralph Unwin that had been stolen, and that the bailiff should be enjoined to seize the said lamb as being feloniously come by, and estreat it to the lord of the manor.

Two tenants were fined 6^{d} each for allowing their pigs to go at large.

Ralph Unwyn was presented for not having made his hedges and ditches in a manner the burleymen could approve, and was fined 5 shillings in consequence.

John Lawton, of the Yewtree, and Thos. Shawe were elected to serve the office of constable for the ensuing year; and John Walton and Ralph Kent to serve the office of burleymen.

October 18. 16 James I., 1618.

Francis Pool and William Wearam elected constables.

Roger Comberbach and John Chantler, burleymen.

Ralph Sneyd, gent., is designated lord of the manor, and

continued to be so called till 1628, *i.e.*, during the minority of John Lawton. Part of the time Mr. John Smith, of Heathend, Burslem, acted as steward, as appears by an endorsement on one of the rolls, "to my loving friend Mr. John Smith of the Heathend, deliver this at Burslem." The principal events during this interregnum, over and above ordinary business, consisted in defining the limits of the manor, and preventing encroachments. Thus, in 1618, "The jury find divers encroachments on the waste, but don't know the number, and so refer the naming of them to the bailiffs, and for amercement, to the assessors." Again, "The jury were bound over to meet on S^{t} Matthias' day at the church, and walk the boundaries under a penalty of 3^{s} 4^{d} each for absence." In 1626 (Jno. Fernihough, steward) a committee was appointed to meet at 9 o'clock on the last day of October, under a penalty of 10/-, "to settle the bounds of the moss, concerning which many complaints had been made." Next year, it is recorded that "the meres were determined on the moss, and set down accordingly, and a penalty of 3^{d} and 4^{d} laid on divers tenants casting ashes, muck, &c., on the street." John Lawton, Esq., was fined 3^{s}/4^{d} for assault! and Richard Rowley 30/- for breaking the pound and withdrawing sheep lawfully impounded.

October 9, 1627. 3 Charles I.

J^{no} Fernihough, steward.

The free tenants fined for non-attendance include names of W^{m} Leversage, Esq., Randle Rode, Esq., J^{no} Holford, gent., and W^{m} Lawton, priest.

"About the metres on Lawton Mosse the jurie did meete besaving W^{m} Kelsall and Francis Poole accordinge to the payne at the last Courte, and did fynde out the meares and lymete where as right they ought to be, but sett downe meares accordingly."

"A payne layd on John Walton and Richard Calley that they shall refrayne of cartinge of mucke, ashes, and such lyke annoyance in the Streete—*subpœna* 3s/4d.

"Wm Bayley claimed 39/- against Randle Cooke for having bestowed base marle land, and leaving good marle land behind in his pitt." Claim allowed.*

October 10. 4 Charles I., 1628.

"The jury say that Richard Cartwright of the Hall greene cominge into the Courte in his own person had manifestinge that he thought his owne howse was most like to strue yn unto Rode and is sworne by his own consent to strue for his owne howse."†

The butts being in decay, day is given untill the Annunciation of our Ladie next for the mendinge of the same.

Constables: Nicholas Hobsone. "We doe fynd the Halle of Leaye by course of right to stand for one of the constables of this manor of Lawton for the next yeare."

Burleymen: John Poole and William Lawton of the mere.

October 12, 1632. 8 Charles I.

Richard Shufflebottom was fined 3s/4d for selling a cottage and not laying ground out to it according to statute; and the jury found that "Richard Rowley did unlawfully heave sheepe out of the penne (pound) being lawfully impounded; and John Lawton, Esq., was fined 3/4 for assault. A jury

* This petty action to recover damages has more than a passing interest, as it gives not only a satisfactory explanation for the appearance of so many marl pits, now filled with water, distributed over Cheshire; but shows also that marl, in former days, was as much a marketable commodity as artificial manures are at the present time.

† Notwithstanding its obscurity, this entry serves to explain the chronic misunderstanding that existed about grinding grist away from the Lawton Manor Mill; and apparently signifies that the Cartwrights thought themselves at liberty to grind at Rode in preference.

having been sworn to give evidence about boundaries, they all referred themselves to their former depositions made in 1629 (court roll wanting), saying that, "Richard Drakeford said that about 55 or 56 years ago (as he now remembereth) he was getting Clay in Butt Lane for his brother-in-law, in the lordship of Audeley, whereupon Mr John Lawton the lord of the manor came to him and asked him who gave him license to get Clay there, and took him up for getting Clay, and then afterwards his brother-in-law went to the said Mr Lawton and procured him a license. And he further sayeth that he heard his mother say that, in the Abbot's time there was a meeting by the Abbot and the lord of Audeley, and that both walked the law, and had witnesses with them of both lordships, and where they agreed. And the neighbours of Audeley on the one side of the midst of the lane as in the lord of Audeley's right for that side, and the neighbours of Lawton of the other side of the midst of the lane as in right of the Abbot, and so they parted friends as having discovered both their rights, as being divided in the midst of the lane.

This being done, "the jurie doe grant day for the givinge up their verdict for the Court of Survey, and some other business they had not yet agreed uppon. And thereupon it was granted they shall have their day in the Easter week next. And if the foreman appoynt this tyme of meetinge for Conference with the rest of the jurors, it is payned that yf anie of the Jurors upon reasonable warninge given in the Church to meet him doe make default, then everie one makinge default do forfeyte v shillings."

Constables { Richard Purcell.
Thomas Stubbs.

Burleymen { Wm. Lawton, of Greene.
Ralph Unwin.

October 24. 12 Charles I., 1636.

William Barrington, steward.

Randle Rode, Esq., and Mary Cartwright fined one shilling, each for grinding away from the lord's mill.

Richard Rowley was fined 33 sh: and 4d "for making a rescue and taking cattel vyolently from Margaret Purcell as she was taking them to the towne foulde."*

October 16. 15 Charles I., 1639.

John Lawton, lord of the manor. Peter Maynwaring, steward.

John Lawton, Esq., and William Baggiley, gentleman, were severally fined 3 sh: and 4d for fighting with each other.

October 6. 17 Charles I., 1641.

Mary Gally was fined 6 sh: and 8d for an "assault and bloodwipe" on John Twemlow;

And the wife of Edward Brook was pronounced a "scowle" (abjuratrix), and fined one shilling "for curseing John Adams."

Thomas Cartwright and Randle Rode, gentlemen, with Richard Hobson and Willm Hassall, were elected constables.

John Drakeford and Thomas Wearam, burleymen.

October 8. 9 Charles II., 1658.

William Lawton, lord of the manor. Thomas Bagnall, steward.

The jury presented William Lawton, Esq., lord of the manor, for stopping an ancient footway near Thomas Rowley's garden nook. Fined 12 pence.

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* Occasionally the rough drafts in English, taken at the sittings of the courts, are found preserved along with the Latin copies made subsequently, and have then been transcribed in preference.

Samuel Poole and William Kellsall elected constables.

William Low and Robert Lockett, burleymen.

October 15. 14 Charles II.

Thomas Cartwright, gentleman, was one of the essons.

Thomas Cartwright, of Hall Green, fined for selling a horse out of the manor without paying customary toll.

John Lawton, of Snape, and Hugh Hall were elected constables; and Thomas Beech and Robert Weaver burleymen.

October 5. 15 Charles II.

Thomas Cartwright and Andrew Lawton, gentlemen, essons.

Randle Rode, Esq., fined 12^{d} because he was a free tenant and had absented himself.

"A payne layd upon Stephen Smith that he remove his soyle in the head of his field called the Colepit field and set it in its right place where the soyle anciently stood before the 12th daye of December next or he doe forfeit two shillings and sixpence."*

William Lawton, of the Green, and William Hulme, constables.

John Lawton, of Snape, and Hugh Hall, burleymen.

October 5. 18 Charles II.

Thomas Cartwright "generosus" twice named, once as a juror, and once as paying toll for selling a horse.

Thomas Cartwright, of Hall Green, and Wm. Wearam, constables.

Richard Cartwright and Thos. Beech, burleymen.

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* This entry not only demonstrates what small matters were taken cognizance of, but also would seem to indicate a commencement of those mining operations, on a small scale, that have since been so largely developed.

October 5. 19 Charles II.

The jury said that Thomas Cartwright, gentleman, was a free tenant of the manor, and had died since the holding of the last court, seized of one messuage and divers lands within the manor; but what belonged to the lord upon his death they could not tell.

William Lawton, priest, is recorded as a free tenant.

John Stonier and John Poole, constables.

John Lawton and Robert Plant, burleymen.

September 26. 23 Charles II., 1672.

William Lawton, Esq. (*i.e.*, the lord of the manor), was fined 6 pence for obstructing an ancient foot path (pro obscuratione antiquæ viæ).

W^m^ Wearam and John Mitchell, constables.

W^m^ Postle and Robert Proudlove, burleymen.

October 24. 24 Charles II., 1673.

Roger Wilbraham, Esq., Thomas Stevenson, Esq., and Andrew Lawton, gentleman, were declared free tenants, and fined for not attending to do suit and service.

Anthony Corst was presented, and fined 12 pence for having encroached on the lord's waste in Butt Lane, 4 virgates in length, and 4 in bredth.

"A payne lay'd upon William Arderne that he scoure the ditch belonginge to the Hall of Lee Lane as far as his land lyeth to the lane within two months next or to forfeit 5 shillings."

"A payne lay'de upon William Postles that he scowre the ditch between his meadowe and the high lane within a month next, or he forfeit 2 shillings."

"A payne layde upon Thomas Cluloe that he scowre his ditch belonging to his insart lying along betweene the Little

Mosse and the Halle greene within one month next ensueing or he forfeit 2 sh:."

William Wearum and John Murchill, constables.

John Murchell, of Morehead, and William Wearam, burleymen.

October 24. 28 Charles II., 1676.

William Lawton, lord of manor. William Middleton, steward.

The manorial boundaries are written down accurately, and at some length, but are obsolete now.

Thos Rowley and Thomas Cooper, constables.

William Lowe and Randle Tomson, burleymen.

October 13. 1 James II., 1685.

Only one roll of this king's short reign has been preserved, and it contains nothing of interest beyond the events ordinarily transacted.

John Lawton, of Lawton Gate, and Samuel Hodgkinson, constables.

William Lawton and William Rowley, burleymen.

October 7. 5 William and Mary, 1694.

John Lawton, lord of the manor. Wm Middleton, steward.

Roger Wilbraham, Esq., Thomas Stevens, Esq., and John Cartwright, gentleman, fined for non-attendance: the two first in half a crown, and the last in 1 sh: and 6d.

22 October. 8 William and Mary, 1696.

Ralph Mountfort, steward.

Roger Wilbraham and Thos Stevens, Esq., and William Cartwright, gentleman, fined for being absent.

22 October. 12 William and Mary, 1700.

Thomas Fenton, steward.

Roger Wilbraham, Tho: Stevens, and J^no^ Cartwright fined for absence, they being free tenants.

In the previous year, Egerton Browne was fined 2 sh : and 6^d^ "for not giving in his account as Constable, and overseere of the poore;" and Robert Hodgkinson was fined 1 sh : for the like.

The rolls, from the year 1695 to 1700, when they end, have tacked on to them mandates from the steward to the bailiff, showing how the several penalties for default were collected: thus—

"To the Bailiff of the Manor aforesaid."

"These are to will and require you for you to ask and demand the severall sums of money aforesaid of the severall persons aforesaid affixed to their respective names and in default of payment thereof to levy the same by distresse and sale of the goods and Chattells of each respective person so refusinge or neglectinge to pay the same.

"Given under my hand and seale ẏ said 22^nd^ day of October Anō dni 1700.

Tho: Fenton
Seneschal."

Having thus briefly summarised the contents of the compoti and court rolls, and shown the manners and customs of a rural population as exemplified in them, together with the manorial tenures extending over three centuries, it is next proposed to demonstrate the utility of these documents for illustrating genealogical descent.

The first compotus shows that Henry de Ravenscroft was steward of the manor (nuper seneschallum) in the earlier part of the last year of the reign of Henry V.; and that prior to Michaelmas John de Lawton succeeded him in this office. This Henry de Ravenscroft was likewise seneschal of Middlewich, of the family of Ravenscroft of Ravenscroft, and is not to be confounded with his son and

successor Henry, who was escheator of Cheshire, and died six years subsequently, as has been inferred in the pedigree of this family. The compotus thus enables us to determine directly the date of the death of Henry de Ravenscroft, senior, in the year 1422.

In this same document Beatrice is made mention of as wife of Thomas Madyowe, whereas in the following year she is referred to as the widow of Thomas Madyowe and wife of John de Lawton (que fuit uxor Thome Madyowe et Johannis de Lawton). The exact date of the marriage of John de Lawton is thus determined, and the date of his death also inferentially, in 1426, as his accounts then come to an end. Doubtless, these compoti were copies of originals sent to Chester, and kept as checks; and their presence amongst the Lawton muniments is thus explained more readily. The heirs of Thomas Wolfe, in the first two compoti, are replaced by a direct representative in the later documents. In all four compoti mention is made of one Edward de Leigh, or Legh, as a contentious person whose rent could not be raised without recourse being had to law (qui non possunt levari absque legis processu). With the aid of the compoti, the *Recognizance Rolls*, and private deeds penes, John Morton Toler, Esq., of Saltersford Hall, near Holmes Chapel, a representative of the family of Cartwright, it can be ascertained that these two names of Wolfe and Legh are inseparably linked; and that taken together they represent a continuous descent of two families dwelling on the fringe of Lawton Manor, on lands situate between Church Lawton and Odd Rode, now known as the "Hall o' Lee" estate, as free tenants, for at the least eight generations, stretching over a period of more than two hundred years, beginning in the thirteenth and ending in the sixteenth century. In a thirteenth-century deed, penes Toler, an original grant of land is set forth to Randle, son of Randle

Wolfe. In a fourteenth-century deed, dated 8 Richard II., 1385, it is affirmed that Thomas Wolfe married a daughter of Richard Rode, of Odd Rode, named Eve, and had with her in franc marriage three messuages, with lands. This Thomas Wolfe would appear to have had a brother who served with some distinction in the French wars, for in 1399 he is entered on the *Recognizance Rolls* as Richard Wolfe, of Chirche Lawton, "sagittarius de Corona," with a grant of sixpence per day for life (vol. xxxvi., p. 536).

Amongst these same *Welsh Records*, 10 Henry V., 1422, it is further stated that "Margery, who was the wife of Thomas Wolfe, claimed dower against Edward de Legh and Felice his wife, for 3 messuages, 100 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, and one-third of a messuage in Church Lawton and Rode (vol. xxix., p. 76). Now, in two of the compoti, it is stated that this Thomas left an heir or heiress (et de 4^{d} solut: hered: Thomæ le Wolfe), and as Margery Wolfe the widow claimed dower against Edward de Legh and Felice his wife jointly, Felice could have been none other than the heiress, married to Edward de Legh, of Hall o' Lee. In further corroboration of this, I may add that amongst the Toler muniments it is stated, *temp.* Henry VI., that Edward de Legh had married the daughter and heiress of Thomas Wolfe, and that William de Shotlach entailed on her his lands in Shotlach, which afterwards descended to her issue male. Thus, it becomes doubly plain that on failure of heirs male the family of Wolfe became blended with that of Legh in the person of Edward de Legh, who is understood to have been a scion of the house of Adlington. He had two brothers, William and Oliver, the latter of whom was rector of Davenham (Toler deed). The descent was continued in the person of Thomas de Legh, though whether he was a son or nephew I have no evidence to show. But, and be this as it may, the terri-

torial tenure and descent are alike made clear from an entry made in the *Recognizance Rolls*, in 1490, 4 Henry VII., "Thomas Legh, of Chirche Lawton, *son* of Thomas Legh, entered into a recognizance that he and his brothers, Ralph, Edward, and Thomas, would keep the peace towards Ralph Moreton" (vol. xxxvii., p. 457). The descent is brought down yet another generation through an agreement (penes Toler) made between John Legh, son and heir presumptive of Thomas Legh, and Thomas Legh, his father, bearing date 1501, *i.e.*, the year before the death of Thomas Legh, senior, as shown by his post-mortem inquisition (penes Toler).

The first extant court roll of Lawton manor now serves to fill in a remaining hiatus, by recording that, in 1541, Ralph Legh, gentleman, was a free tenant. Forty years later, two more generations of Legh, of Hall o' Lee, are made mention of in the *Recognizance Rolls* (vol. xxxix., p. 170), and then the occupancy of this place and lands attached finally determined in respect of the family of Legh, Randle Legh, the then possessor, having sold Hall o' Lee to Randle Rode, of Odd Rode, *circa* 1557, subject to a fifty-one years' lease of the same, previously made to his brother Thomas, and his daughter, for a money consideration, which lease was purchased, in 1581, from Randle, son and heir of the aforesaid Randle Legh, by Thomas Rode, of Odd Rode.

Here, then, leave may be taken of these hitherto little-known families of Legh and Wolfe, of Lee Hall, after they have been tracked through seven generations, covering a period of more than one hundred and sixty years. Hall o' Lee, with appurtenances, after continuing to form an integral part of Odd Rode estate for a century, was conveyed to Thomas Cartwright by purchase, with whose descendants, in the female line, it yet remains (see pedigree of Cartwright, of Hall o' Lee, in Walford's *County Families*). Seven

generations of this family of Cartwright had their names entered on the court rolls, as tenants at will of Lawton, prior to that of Thomas; but, without reckoning them, enough has now been said to establish the devolution of title to this small but now valuable possession, by reason of its mineral wealth, in uninterrupted succession from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries, in which the names of Wolfe, Legh, Rode, and Cartwright are included as free tenants, each and all of whom owed suit and service to Lawton at one time or another.

Going back to the first Court Leet and view of franc pledge in 1541, *i.e.* after the entire manor had come into possession of William Lawton, who was then paramount lord, it is seen that William Glazeor acted as steward, he who was sheriff of Chester in 1548, and mayor in 1552, and progenitor of the Glazeors, of Lea, near Chester, described as of Manx origin.

The first name encountered is that of Arthur Holford, gentleman, a free tenant, paying sixpence per year. This entry leads up to a consideration of the long-vexed question of the descent of the family of Holford, of Davenham, concerning which county historians and heralds have alike differed, but upon which these long-neglected records cast light.

Of Sir George Holford, of Holford, who married Isabel, widow of Sir Lawrence Warren, and daughter of Robert Legh, of Adlington, Sir Peter Leicester wrote that, besides lawful issue, he had four natural sons, of which number Arthur was one. In corroboration of this statement, Sir Peter quoted a deed dated 22 Henry VII., 1506, in which these four sons are named in their order of priority. Sir William Dugdale, when he entered the pedigree of Holford, of Davenham, in 1663, approached his subject with much caution, and only felt he was treading on firm ground when

he reached the fourth generation, in Elizabeth's reign. Dr. Ormerod, writing of this Arthur Holford, supposed him to have married the daughter and heiress of Brett, of Davenham, by whom he had a son and successor also called Arthur, a statement which the Lawton papers go very far to verify. Nothing would be more likely than that Arthur, the natural son of Sir Peter Holford, should seek out his relation, Edward Legh, then living at Hall o' Lee, and so have become possessor of lands in Lawton Manor, as a free tenant. Then, again, as Oliver, the brother of Edward Legh, was rector of Davenham until 1470 there would seem to be some equally valid reason for Arthur Holford finding his way there, and meeting with his future wife. But, supposition apart, it is undoubted that the Lawton rolls deal with the second Arthur Holford, who was living away from this manor, and, therefore, never attended the courts.

The gap in the rolls prevents a knowledge of the date of the second Arthur Holford's death, though when these recommence, in 1574, his name is supplanted by that of John Holford, gentleman, who, dying in 1588, 31 Elizabeth, as appears by his post-mortem inquisition (*Recognizance Rolls*, vol. xxv., p. 45), was succeeded by his son John, whose death is sworn to in the manorial rolls in 1606, together with the fact that he left a son and heir, eight years old, also named John. But for this last entry, and its exact accord with a proved descent, some doubt might have arisen whether the Arthur Holford, free tenant of Lawton Manor, was one and the same with him of Davenham. The rolls, however, supply a clear and well-defined descent from Arthur to John, and from him to a second John Holford, who married Elizabeth Reddish, concerning whom Dugdale had no misgiving, and who was father of the infant son, also named John, made mention of in connection with the heriot.

The information contained in these same rolls, together with other available documentary evidence, makes it practicable to trace the family of Twemlow for five generations, and for two centuries, prior to the birth of George Twemlow, inferentially, the first of Arclid, in 1631. John Twemlow is mentioned in the *Recognizance Rolls* (37 Report, p. 625) as holding lands in Odd Rode and elsewhere at will, for life, in 1482, 12 Henry VII. In the first court roll the names of John, Thomas, Andrew, and Ralph Twemlow occur; and John is designated "junior," thus indicating further that the family was settled at Lawton prior to the year 1541. This last-named John "junior" had a son and successor owning the same Christian name. He died in 1573-4, as is established by the following memorandum entered on the court roll for 1574, "that a heriot became due to the lord because John Twemlow had died since the sitting of the last court." His widow's Christian name was Joane.

In the same roll, John Twemlow, of Hathorne Hill, "gentleman," is stated to be a tenant coming within the view of franc pledge, thus establishing a continuity of the family history and denoting its rise in the social scale, in the same manner as John Cartwright's condition was particularised. Afterwards, the thread of the narrative is resumed in an indenture, penes Lawton, dated 1616, 13 James I., relating to a release of lands, in which John Twemlow is styled "the elder," and the names of John and George Twemlow are introduced. The Lawton Church register shows that John Twemlow, of Hathorne Hill, died in 1630; and it likewise records that John Twemlow, son of the above presumably, died in 1648.

George Twemlow, who was born in 1631, and became of Arclid in 1662,—an estate continguous to Lawton manor,—by marriage with Mary, granddaughter and heiress of William Lingard, of Arclid, was son of John Twemlow, as

is set forth in the Sandbach Church register. Without, therefore, being in a position to establish this connection as a positive fact, the presumption is very strong indeed in favour of its being so, and is here narrated for whatever it may be worth to any future investigator.

The date of the death of William Leversage, of Wheelock, is fixed by these records as having happened in 1612.

The fact of Roger Wilbraham, of Nantwich, and the first of Odd Rode, being alive in the year 1700 is likewise determined. All other circumstances relating to the descent of Rode, of Rode, being recorded in the history of Cheshire, as set forth in these rolls, makes further comment needless.

Doubtless heralds, such as Dugdale, Glover, and Flower, whose genealogical evidences are so justly prized, drew largely on manorial rolls, when these were preserved in their entirety, for facts that were attested on the oaths of duly sworn jurymen; and it may be hoped that the above running record of manners, customs, and genealogical scraps, gleaned from such of the Lawton documents as have escaped destruction, will be regarded as an adequate plea for my having rescued their contents from further neglect, furnishing, as they do, one more proof that, had family papers of a like nature been preserved with greater care in other Cheshire manors, they would have supplied the county historian with a mine of information second to none in importance, completeness, and accuracy.

APPENDIX.

Compotus Joñis de Lauton Ballivi Man'ii de Lauton de Omūbs receptivis et expens' p ipm̄ fcts' a festo sc̄i Michīs Arch̄i anno regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum decimo usque idem festū ex tunc px' sequens p unū annū integrum.

Lauton.

Idem rº de x li. xiiij s. x d. ob recept' de reddit' et fyniis divsōr tenent' una cum lib'o reddit' ib'm ult' firm̄ molī aquatic̄ ib'm dimīss' Ricô Erdley solvend' ad festum Sc̄i Martini p toto anno infra tempus hujus compī ut patet p quoddam rental' fact' p Henrico de Ravenscroft nup Senclm̄ ib'm sup hunc compot' ostens' et examinat'.

Sm̄a x li. x iiij et x dr' o b. De quib's libāvit David del Huls p mandat' dn̄i p manus Ricī Erdeley solvent' denar' ix li. Et dn̄o Abbī p manus pd'ti Ricī sup hunc compōt vj s. viij d. Et alloª eidem computant p stipend' suo hoc anno prt alloª est in aliis compōt pc̄edent vj s. viij d. Et de vj s. viij d. solut' Rectī Eccl'ie ib'm p les Dyches ut annotat' in aliis compot' precedent'. Et de 3 s. de reddit' Edwardi de Legh qui non possunt levari absque legis pc̄ssu. Et de xij dr' solut' Beatric que fuit ux' Thome Madyowe p licens' tend'i quendam cursum aque currend' infra solū ipsius Beatric de stagno molend' ib'm absque impediment'.

Et de iv dr' solut' hereds' Thome le Wolfe p causa consilī. Et de iv s. et vj dr' de reddit' ij Cotag' ib'm eo q'd obrupt' sunt et in decas.

Et de xx dr' p expeñs Ricī Erdeley et Johis Donell et al' p cur' ib'm tenend'.

Sm̄a x li. x s. vj dr. . Et rem̄ iiij s. iiij dr. Ob.

Compoт Johis de Lauton Ballivi manīī de Lauton a festo sc̄i Michis Archī anno regni regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum prim̄s usq' idem festum ex tunc px' sequeñs p unū annū integrum.

Arrearag'

Idem rº de iiij s: iiij d. ob de arrerag' ultimi compī dn̄i anni px' pc̄edenт ut patet in pede ibm̄

Sm̄a iiij s. iiij d. ob.

Reddiт ass'

Et de x li. xiiij s. x d. ob recept' de reddit' et finī divs' tenent' ib'm absque molendino aquatico quod dimittit ad firmam Ricō Erdeley p xx s. quod soleb' reddere p annū xl s. Una cum libo' reddit' ib'm solvend' ad festum Sci

Martini in yeme ꝑ toto anno infra tempus istius comp'i ut patet in quoddam rentale supꝑ hunc compot' et in aliis compot' pc̄eden't ostend' et examinat'.

Sm^{a} x li. xiiij s. x d. ob.

Fynis. Cur'

De pltc̄is et ꝑquis' Cur' ten't ib'm ij s. r^{o} hic eo quod assign̄ ꝑ dmn̄ Ricō de Erdeley Johī Donell ꝑ feod et regard suis hoc anno ꝑ cur' tenend ib'm.

Summa totis' rent' c. arrerag' x li: xix s. iij d.

Lib'āt Den̄.

De quibus compūt libac̄ David del Huls ꝑ debit dm̄ eidem assign̄ ꝑ manus Rici de Erdeley ostend denar' supꝑ hunc compōt ut patet ꝑ quandam ꝥram acquietanc̄ supꝑ hunc compōt ostens' et libac̄ viij li: vj s: viij d. Et solūt p'sone eccliē de Lauton causa conteñt in aliis compōt p'cedent vj s. viij d. Et Baꝥia mañii p'dci ꝑ stipendio suo hoc anno ut allō in aliis compōt precedeñt vj s: viii d.

Summa ix li. et remañ xxxix s. iij d.

De quibus petit sibi allo^{cm} de iij s. ꝑ reddit' Edwardi de Legh qui non possunt levari absq' legis pc̄ssu. Et de xij d. solūt Beatric que fuit ūx Thom̄ Madyowe et Johī de Lauton ꝑ licen̄s heñd aque cursum ut annotat' in aliis compōt precedeñt. Et de iiij d. solūt heredis' Thome de Wolfe ꝑ causa consili. Et in expen̄s cur'^{e} teñt ib'm hoc anno ij s. Et de iiij s. vj d. de reddt' ij cotag' cum ptī̄ ib'm jacent' in manu dn̄i ob defect tenent' eo quod ruinos sunt et in decas. Summa commuta ix li. x s. 10 d. et debet xxviij s. v d.

Compot' Joh̄is de Lauton Baillivi Manīi de Lauton a festo sc̄i Mich̄is Arch̄i anno rr' Henr' sexti post conquestū sc̄do usque idem festum extūc px' sequens ꝑ unū annū integrū.

Arrerag'

Idem de xxviij s v d. de arrerag' ul'ti com̄pi sui anni px' p'cedent' ꝑ ut patet in pede ib'm.

Summa xxviij s v d.

Reddit' assis'.

Et de ix li. viij s. iiij d. ob recept' de reddit' et finī divs' tenent' ib'm absqū molendino aquatico quod dimittit' ad firmam Ricō Erdeley p̄ xx s. quod solebat redder' p̄ annū xl s. una cū lib'o reddit' ib'm solvend' ad festū Sēi Martini in yeme p̄ toto anno inf' tempū istius compī ut patet in quodm̄ rentāle sup' hūc compot' et in aliis compot' p'cedent.

Summa ix li. viij s. iiij d.

Sm^a tot re^{to} cū arrerag' xj li xxj d.

Libac' Den'

De quib's comput' libac' David del Huls p̄ debit' dñi eidem Assignat' p̄ mañ Rici de Erdeley solvent' denar' sup̄ hunc compot' ut patet p̄ quandm̄ lr'am acquitanc' sup̄ hūc compot' ostens' et liba^t ix li. Et solūt Rectori eccl'ie de Lauton causa cōtent' in aliis compôt p'cedent vj s. viij d. Et Ballivo manīī p̄'dēi p̄ stipendio suo hoc anno ut allo^a in aliis compot' p'cedent vj s. viij d.

Sm^a ix li. xiij s. iiij d et remanēt xxviij s. v d.

De quib's petit sibi allo^{ri} de iij s. p̄ reddit' Edwardi Leegh qui non possūt levari absqū legis pcessū.

Solut Beatrīc que fuit ux' Thome Madyowe et Joh̄is de Lauton p̄ licens' habend' cursū aque ut annotat' in aliis compot' p'cedent. Et de iiij d. solut' Thome le Wolf fact̄ p̄ causa consili. Et de iiij s. vj d. de reddit ij Cotag' cum pt'in ib'm jacent' in Manu dñi ob defect' tenent' eo q'd ruinos' sūt et in decas.

Ed debet xix s vij d.

Compotus Joh̄is de Lauton Ballivi man'ii de Lauton a festo sēi Mich̄is Arch̄i anno rr' Henr' sexti p' conquestū tēio usque idē festū ex tūc px' sequens p̄ unū annū integrū.

Arrerag'

Idem r^o de xix s. vij d. de arrerag' ul'ti compoti sui anni px' p'cedent p̄t ut patet in pede ib'm.

Sm^a xix s. vij d.

Reddit' assis'.

Et de x li. xv s. xj d. ob recep^t. de reddit' et finiū divs' tenent' ib'm absque molendino aquatico quod dimittit ad

firmā Ricō Erdeley p. xx s. quod solebat redder' p annum xl s. Una cū lib'o reddit' ib'm solvenād ad festum Sci Martini in yeme p toto anno inf' temp' isti⁹ compī ut patet in quodm rentale sūp hunc compot' et in aliis compot' p'cedent ostend' et examinat'.

Sm⁹ x li. xv s. xi d. ob.

Sm'a to⁹ recept' cū arrerag' xi li xv s. vi d. ob.

Libac' Denar'

De quibs' compūt in libat' David de Huls p debit' dni eidem assignat' p man⁹ Rici Erdeley solvent denar' sup hūc compot' ut pat⁹ p quand' lrām acquitanc sup hūc compot' ostens et libat' vij li. Et delibat' dno abbati p man⁹ dci Rici xxx s. Et solūt Rectori Eccl'ie de Lauton causa content' in aliis compot' pcedent vj s. viij d.

Et Ballio man'ii pd'ci p stipendio suo hoc anno ut sibi allocat' in aliis compot' pcedent' vj s. viij d. Et Willo Crowgate abyttmon p panno p dmū empto et sibi solut⁹ man⁹ Ricī Erdlay p assign dnī vj s. viij d. Et solut' Edwardo de Legh p concordia fact' int' se et Senescall Dni Abbati p exitu aque molendini ib'm hoc anno xiij s. iiij d. Et in libacoibs Johis Erdeley et ballī de Lauton p'dcti illis p dmū hoc anno concess' et allocat' xix s. vij d.

Sm⁹ xj li. ij s. xj d. et remañ xij s. vij d. ob.

De quibus petit allocari de Cotagio Rogī Bland modo jacen't in manu dni ij s. Et de Cotag⁹ Tho⁹ Wolf qui no potest levari iiij d. Et de Cotag⁹ Beatric Madyowe et Johis Sherman p licenc habend' ad cursū aque molendini hoc anno vj d. Et p expn' fact ib'm p pd'm Ricm Erdley et Joham Crykett causa cur' ib'm tenend' hoc an' iij s. Et debet vj s. ix ob.

The following English version of the four compoti will perhaps convey their meaning most simply and concisely :—

FIRST COMPOTUS.

The yearly account of all monies received and paid by John Lawton, Bailiff of Lawton Manor, from and to Michaelmas, in the 10th (and last) year of the reign of Henry the fifth (1422).

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
Received in Rents and fines from the several tenants of the Lordship, together with a free rent in the same, and the rent of the Water Mill farmed out to Richard Erdeley, payable at Martinmas, and paid, as appears from the rent sheet of Richard de Ravenscroft the late steward, exhibited and balanced on this account - - - - - - - - -	10	14	10

Payments.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Paid to the Lord Abbot (at Chester) through his appointed Messenger, and receipt taken - - - -	9	0	0			
Ditto Ditto - -	0	6	8			
The Bailiff's annual stipend - -	0	6	8			
The Rector of the Church for the Dyches* - - - - - -	0	6	8			
For Edward Legh's contested rent -	0	3	0			
Beatrice Madyowe for conservancy of the Mill race running through her land - - - - - - -	0	1	0			
The heirs of Thomas Wolfe, pending legal proceedings - - - -	0	0	4			
Rent of two tenantless and ruinous houses - - - - - -	0	4	6			
Two care takers - - - -	0	1	8			
	£10	10	6	10	10	6
Balance due to the lord on this account -				£0	4	4

* In the Chartulary of St. Werburgh's Monastery, preserved in the British Museum, four undated thirteenth-century charters are entered having relation to the Dyches, whilst a fifth charter explains how the annual payment to the rector came about. The first is a grant from William de Lawton to the abbot of two acres of land and an assart called the Diches. The second is from Roger de Crosslegh and Cecily his wife (*née* Lawton) of her interest in a place called the Diches. The third is from Thomas

SECOND COMPOTUS.

The yearly account of John Lawton, Bailiff of Lawton Manor, from and to Michaelmas in the first year of the reign of Henry the sixth.

	£	s.	d.
Balance due to the lord on the last account -	0	4	4

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
Received in rents and fines from the several tenants of the lordship, less the rent accruing from the Water Mill farmed out to Richard Erdeley for twenty shillings, which used to be rented at forty shillings, also a free rent in the lordship payable at Martinmas yearly, exhibited on this and on preceding accounts - - -	10	14	10
Total receipts -	£10	19	2

Payments.

	£	s.	d.
Monies sent to the lord Abbot through his selected Messenger, &c.	8	6	8
Paid to the Rector of the Church for the Dyches - - - - - -	0	6	8
Paid Bailiff for yearly stipend - -	0	6	8
Edward Legh's rent, as before - -	0	3	0
Beatrice Madyowe and John Lawton for the conservancy of the Mill race in her lands - - - - -	0	1	0
*The heirs of Thomas Wolfe for an undetermined law suit - - -	0	0	4

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de Rode, of all the portion he had in the Diches by gift of William, son of William Lawton, priest. The fourth is a quit claim of Ralph de Lawton to the abbot of all the right he had in the Diches. The total area of the Diches would appear to have been seven acres, as a composition exists in the same Chartulary whereby the abbot, in exchange for these acres, binds himself and successors to pay to the rector of the church for the time being half a mark annually, in consideration of a claim made by the rector to have been previously seized of them.

* The matter in dispute appears to have been an old standing one, relative to a claim made by the superior lord to lands owned

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Two empty cottages - - - -	0	4	6			
Two care takers - - - -	0	2	0			
	£9	10	10	9	10	10
Balance due to the lord - - - -				£1	8	4

or, as written in the compotus, £1 . 8 . 5.

THIRD COMPOTUS.

The annual account of John de Lawton, Bailiff of Lawton Manor, of all receipts and payments made by him from and to Michaelmas, in the second year of the reign of Henry 6.

Lawton.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
Arrears due from last account - - - -	1	8	5
Received in rents and fines from the several tenants of the lordship, less the rent of the Water Mill farmed out to Richard Erdeley for 20 shillings, which used to bring in 40 shillings, together with a free rent in the manor, due and payable yearly at Martinmas, as appears from this and former accounts declared and balanced	9	13	4
Total receipts -	£11	1	9

Payments,	£	s.	d.
Paid to the lord Abbot through his accredited messenger - - -	9	0	0
The Rector for the Dyches - -	0	6	8
The Bailiff's annual stipend - -	0	6	8
Edward Legh's rent, as before - -	0	3	0

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by Thomas Wolfe and his successors, which could not be substantiated. In one of the thirteenth-century charters of the monastery, William de Lawton quit claimed certain lands he had to the abbot, at Chester, except an assart which the wife of Thomas Wolfe held of him.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Beatrice wife of John Lawton for the Mill race*	0	1	0			
Thomas Wolfe's payment as before	0	0	4			
Rent of two uninhabitable houses	0	4	6			
	£10	2	2	10	2	2
Balance due to the lord				£0	19	7

FOURTH COMPOTUS.

The yearly account of John de Lawton, Bailiff of Lawton Manor, from and to Michaelmas, in the 3rd year of Henry 6.

	£	s.	d.
Balance due to the lord on the last account	0	19	7
Receipts.			
Received for rents and fines from the several tenants of the lordship, less the water mill farmed out to Richard Erdeley for 20 shillings, which used to bring in 40 shillings, together with a free rent in the Manor payable yearly at Martinmas	10	15	11

Payments.	£	s.	d.
To the lord Abbot through his accredited messenger	7	0	0
Ditto Ditto	1	10	0

* From amongst the early documents in the Chartulary of St. Werburgh's Monastery bearing on Lawton—fifty of which were transcribed for me by Mr. Richard Sims—four have reference to transfers of lands, &c., from members of the Lawton family to the abbot, at Chester, in connection with the water mill and its accessories. One grant is from William Lawton, another from Ralph son of William Lawton, a third is from Richard son of Adam Lawton, and a fourth from Cicely (Lawton) wife of Roger de Crosslegh. They are either quit claims, grants, or exchanges, and, with the exception of the yearly rent made payable to the predecessors of Beatrice Madyowe and her representatives, ended in the superior lord getting full control over the mill and its tributaries.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
The Rector for the Dyches - -	0	6	8			
The Bailiff's annual stipend - -	0	6	8			
Wm. Crowgate for bread bought by the lord's order - - - - - -	0	6	8			
Edward de Legh by an agreement come to for this year between him and the steward for the mill race -	0	13	4			
Payments made by John Erdeley and the Bailiff for the lord and allowed -	0	19	7			
	11	2	11	11	2	11
				0	12	7
Roger Blond's empty house - -	0	2	0			
Thomas Wolfe's house - - -	0	0	4			
The Cottages of Beatrice Madyowe and John Sherman for the Mill race this year - - - - -	0	0	6			
Two caretakers - - - - -	0	3	0			
	0	5	10	0	5	10
Balance due to the lord - -				£0	6	9

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE TOKENS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY NATHAN HEYWOOD, S.S.C.

THE want of small change appears to have been felt in England from a very early date, and, to meet the requirements of trade, the mint authorities of the Saxon and Norman periods partially relieved this want by cutting the silver penny into halves and quarters, to pass current for halfpennies and farthings.

The continual increase in value of silver gradually caused the silver penny to be reduced in size and weight, and on that account this means of supplying the public requirement became inconvenient and gradually fell into disuse.

To remedy this inconvenience, the British people circulated tokens of lead and leather at different periods previous to the close of the great civil war. The leaden tokens proved to be very pliant, and therefore inconvenient for circulation, and were often a loss to the holders, as the name of the issuer or the address of his shop was seldom stated, but only a sign or some initial letters. The leather tokens had in all probability a very limited circulation, as only a few specimens have survived to our times. After the decapitation of King Charles I. the pressing want of small change continued to be felt, which caused tradesmen in England, Wales,

Scotland,* and Ireland to issue tokens of superior workmanship and of more durable materials to represent the penny, halfpenny, and farthing. A similar issue followed by corporations, overseers of the poor, and other public bodies. These pieces of money are popularly styled seventeenth-century tokens. The earliest specimens issued in England and Wales are dated 1648, and the latest 1673.

By an Act of Parliament passed on the 16th August, 1672, His Majesty's (King Charles II.) farthings and halfpence were made current, and the same Act prohibited all other pence, halfpence, and farthings to be used. The issue of these state farthings and halfpence proved large enough to meet the public demand, and rendered the further issue of tokens unnecessary. The Act is as follows:—

"*By the King.* A PROCLAMATION FOR MAKING CURRANT HIS MAJESTIES FARTHINGS AND HALFPENCE OF COPPER AND FORBIDDING ALL OTHERS TO BE USED.

"*Charles R.*

"Whereas of late years several Persons and Corporations upon pretence that there was wanted small moneys to be currant in low and ordinary payments amongst the poorer sort, have presumed to cause certain pieces of Brass, Copper and other Base Metals to be stamped with their private stamps and then imposed those pieces upon our poor subjects for Pence Halfpence or Farthings as the makers thereof were pleased to call them whereby our subjects have been greatly defrauded and our Royal authority and the laws of our kingdom violated. And whereas We, for the prevention of the like abuses for the time to come did not only direct a severe prosecution of the offenders but did likewise command the officers of our Mint to cause many thousands of Pounds of good sterling silver to be coined into single pence and twopences that so there might be good money currant among the poorest of our subjects and fitted for their smaller traffic and commerce; hoping by one or both these means to have totally suppressed the unlawful practices of these offenders; since which time, we have found by experience that the mischief hath still encreased, partly by having our small silver money bought in and hoarded up, so there might be a scarcity thereof in common payments; but chiefly for the vast gain and profit which these stampers make to themselves and for which they choose to run any hazards of law, rather than quit the hopes of their

* The Scotch tokens are made of white metal, and there was one token issued in the Isle of Man.

private lucre: we therefore taking the premisses into our princely consideration and believing that our subjects would not easily be wrought upon to accept the Farthings and Halfpence of these private stampers, if there were not some kind of necessity for such small coynes to be made for publique use, which cannot well be done in silver nor safely in any other mettal unless the intrinsick value of the coyn be equal, or near to that value for which it is made currant; have thought fit, by advice of our Privy Council, to cause certain farthings and halfpence of copper to be stamped at our Mint, according to such form and with such impression as we have directed and we have given special charge to our officers there, that they cause such halfpence and farthings so to be coyned to contain as much copper in weight, as shall be of the true intrinsick value and worth of an halfpenny or farthing respectively, the charges of coyning and uttering being onely deducted. And we do further by this our Royal Proclamation declare, publish and authorize the said halfpence and farthings of copper so coyned and to be coyned to be currant money; and that the same from and after this instant 16th day of August, shall pass and be received in all payments, bargains, and exchanges to be had or made between our subjects, which shall be under the value of sixpence, and not otherwise nor in any other manner. And if any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate, shall after the first day of September next, presume to make, vend, or utter any pence, halfpence and farthings, or other pieces of brass, copper, or other base mettal, other than the halfpence and farthings by this our Royal Proclamation authorised and allowed, or shall offer to counterfeit any of our halfpence or farthings, we shall hold all such offenders utterly inexcusable, and shall cause their contempt of our laws and government to be chastised with exemplary severity.

"Given at our Court of Whitehall, the 16th day of August, in the 24th year of our reign, 1672.

"*God save the King!*"

The above enactment speedily suppressed the circulation of tokens in England and Wales, except those of some issuers in the city of Chester who continued to circulate their previously-issued coins until 1674, a course which resulted in legal proceedings being taken against them by the crown. The issuers petitioned Sir William Williams, the then member for that city and Speaker of the House of Commons, who interceded with the law officers of the crown, and proceedings were stayed on condition of the offenders complying with the provisions of the enactment referred to. In Ireland, however, the issue of tokens continued until 1679.

Some of the legends on the tradesmen's and town tokens

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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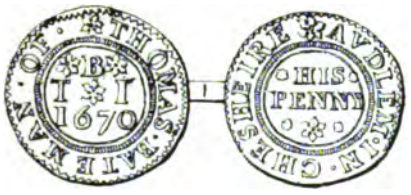
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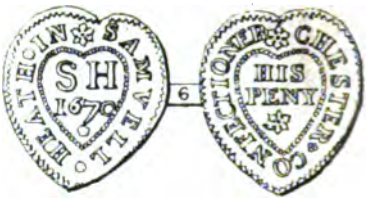
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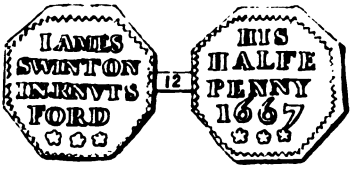
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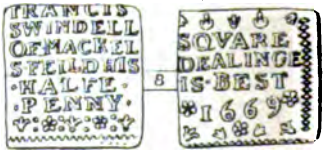
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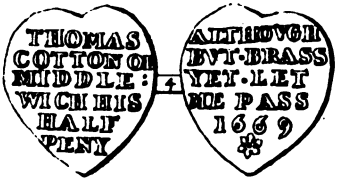
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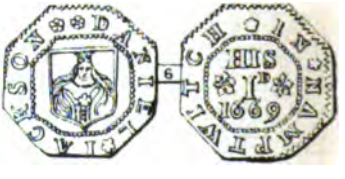
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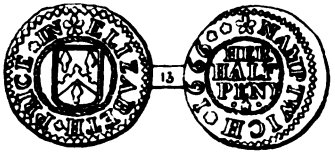
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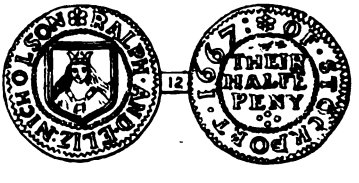
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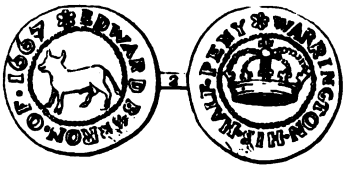

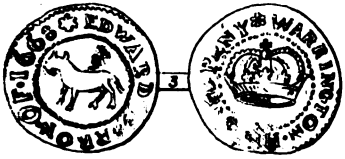

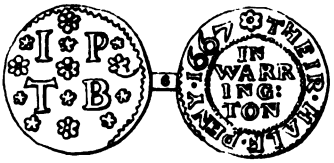

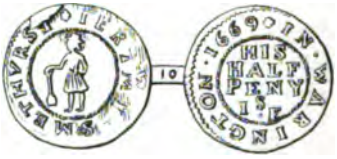

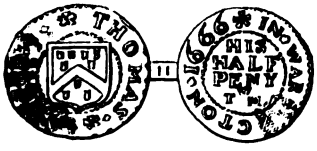

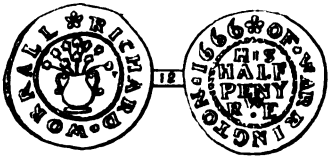

THIS PLATE OF TOKENS PRESENTED BY THE TRUSTEES OF THE WARRINGTON MUSEUM IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO THEM BY THE AUTHOR.

of these and other counties are curious. Edward Broad, of Southmolton, has on a halfpenny the following rhyme, "WHEN . YOV . PLEASE . ILE . CHAINGE . THESE." John Hart, of Nottingham, has on an octagonal token, "TAKE . THESE . THAT . WIL . ILE . CHAING . THEM . STIL." Thomas Cotton, of Middlewich, has on a heart-shape token, "ALTHOVGH . BVT . BRASS . YET . LET . ME . PASS." Francis Swindell, of Macklesfield, has on a square token, "SQVARE DEALINGE . IS . BEST." Sam Endon, of the same town, has, "WELCOM . YOV . BE . TO . TRADE . WTH ME." Thomas Applebee, of Oxford, has the arms of the Appleby family and the motto "MALLIA . CADREENE," the translation of which has hitherto remained a mystery. Edward Williamson, of Liverpool, describes himself an "ALDERMAN." The city of Litchfield has on an octagonal token, "TO . SVPPLY . THE . POORES . NEED . IS . CHARITY . INDEED."

Punning devices are not uncommonly found; we have examples of the following: James Bolton, of Blackburn, a bolt through a tun; Robert Moss, of Bolton, a bolt in a tun; James Norris, of Bolton, a bolt in a tun; Thomas Cuttler, of Clitheroe, a sword; Robert Tallbot, of Clitheroe, a talbot passant; William Snead, of Chester, a snead; and John Salmon, of Chester, three salmon lauriant.

Loyal sentiments also appear: Hugh Cooper, of Chorley, has "GOD SAVE THE KING," and for a device the rose and crown; Charles Rodgers, of Leigh, the royal oak crowned; John Lord, of Haslingden, a unicorn; Thomas Grene, of Lancaster, John Greenwood, of Lancaster, and Samuel Rathbone, of Liverpool, a lion rampant, the same device being part of the arms of the Duchy of Lancaster; Lawrence Nuttall, of Oldham, a crown, and John Butterworth, of Rochdale, a queen's head crowned; Edward Borron, of Warrington, a crown; Elizabeth Woolley, of Warrington, the Prince of Wales' crest; Thomas Baker, of Chester, a

lion rampant; Richard Briscoe, of Chester, the royal oak crowned; Ralph Burrows, of Chester, a crown, and Richard Leigh, of Knutsford, a lion rampant.

Religious emblems are often met with: James Wolstenholme, of Chorley, has "the bleeding heart;" John Crampton, of "Lancashire," two keys in saltire; John Lawson, of Lancaster, "the lamb and flag;" John Wall, of Prescot, "the dove and olive branch." The emblem of the lamb and flag is represented on the tokens of Joseph Bolton, of Preston, John Kellet and Thomas Woley, of Preston, Christopher Nowell, of Preston, and Richard and John Sumpner, of Preston, the same emblem being the arms of the borough of Preston. Thomas Pigott, of Warrington, and Richard Worrall, of Warrington, a pot of lilies; William Varley, of Whalley, "the bleeding heart," and Robert Winstanley, of Wigan, "the dove and olive branch."

The legend of the babes in the wood is represented on the heartshape token issued by Roger Gorsuch, of Liverpool.

The church at Ormskirk is represented on the token issued by William Haydock, of Ormskirk, and the embattled bridge at Warrington on the token issued by Thomas Casson, of Warrington.

The tradition of "the eagle and child" is represented on the tokens of William Prockter, of Lancaster; James Hamar, of Rochdale; and William Jackson, of Holland.

Monograms are met with on the tokens of Benjamin Walker, of Ashton-under-Lyne; William Boardman, of Halliwell; Jeffrey Woods, of Kirkham; Mary Davis, of Kirkham; John Charleton, of Manchester; and Richard Hunt, of Manchester.

Crests or family arms are sometimes displayed: James Bolton, of Blackburn; Rob. Dicconson, of Chorley; William Dweryhowse, of Liverpool; John Dichfield, of Warrington; Gerard Bankes, of Wigan; Thomas Cooper, of Wigan;

Mathew Markland, of Wigan; Samuel Elcocke, of Chester; Will. Hewitt, of Chester; Robert Radford, of Chester; Sam. Radford, of Chester; John Salmon, of Chester; William Snead, of Chester: Peter Stringer, of Chester; John Travers, of Chester; Richard Cotton, of Congleton; and Elizabeth Price, of Nantwich, have each the crest or arms of their family represented on their respective tokens. The arms of the city of Chester are represented on the tokens of Robert Hewitt, of Chester; James Knowsley, of Chester; and Thomas Simpson, of Chester. The arms of the city of London are represented on the tokens issued by Andrew Bury, of Manchester, and John Andrews, of Stockport.

The arms of the incorporated trade companies or guilds of the city of London, or some part thereof, are also extensively exhibited; we have examples of the following:—

The Apothecaries': Apollo holding a bow and arrow, supplanting a serpent; on the tokens issued by Richard Haworth, of Blackburn; John Mashter, of Lancaster; John Pemberton, of Liverpool; Andrew Bury, of Manchester; John Charleton, of Manchester; John Cadman, of Preston; Thomas Pigott, of Warrington; and Gilbert Barrow, of Wigan.

The Armourers': on a chevron a gauntlet between two pairs of swords in saltire, on a chief an oval shield charged with a cross between two helmets; on the octagonal shape token issued by William Laithwaite, of Wigan.

The Bakers': a balance between three wheat-sheaves, on a chief wary an arm issuing from clouds between two anchors, holding a balance; on the tokens issued by James Hardgreaves, of Haslingden; Joshua Crosbie, of Ormskirk; Jane Murry and Jo. Pickering, of Warrington, Sam. Endon, of Macclesfield; and Nathenel Beard, of Middlewich.

The Cordwainers': a chevron between three goats' heads erased; a single goat's head is also a device of this trade on the token issued by Thomas Wasley, of Chorley.

The Drapers': three triple crowns resting on clouds radiated in base; a triple crown is also a device of this trade; on the tokens issued by John Townley, of Clitheroe; Thomas Alcocke, of Crosby; Edward Williamson, of Liverpool; Thomas Farrar, of Ormskirk; James Smith, of Poulton; and Bruen Sixsmith, of Warrington.

The Feltmakers': a dexter hand coupled at the wrist, between two hatbands nowed, in chief a hat; on the token issued by Thomas Welch (or Welsh), of Congleton.

The Grocers': a chevron between nine cloves—three, three, and three; on the tokens issued by Edmund Robinson, of Clitheroe; Mary Davis, of Kirkham; Thomas Johnson, of Liverpool; Emary Oldfeild, of Manchester; Samuel Winter, of Manchester; Thomas Crosbie, of Ormskirk; Joseph Bolton, of Preston; Roger Haddock and John Ravald, of Preston; John Kellet and Thomas Woley, of Preston; John Shield, of Preston; Rich. and John Sumpner, of Preston; Joshua Strengfellow, of Rochdale; Thomas Wrexham, of Warrington; Robert Markland, of Wigan; Roger Brereton, of Chester; Robert Hewitt, of Chester; Richard Eaton, of Congleton; James Johnson, of Knutsford; and John Andrews, of Stockport.

The Haberdashers': barry nebulée, on a bend a lion passant gardant; on the token issued by John Salmon, of Chester.

The Innholders': a chevron per pale and per chevron between three gurbs. The crest is a star of sixteen rays; on the tokens issued by James Scholes, of Chadderton; Robert Fletcher, of Chester; William Harvey, of Chester; and Richard Mynshull, of Chester.

The Ironmongers': on a chevron between three gads, as many swivels; on the tokens issued by Ralph Hocknell, of Chester; Henry Williams, of Chester; and Thomas Jackson, of Nantwich.

The Mercers': a demi-virgin coupled below the shoulders, issuing from clouds, crowned, hair dishevelled, all within an orle of clouds; on the tokens issued by Benjamin Walker, of Ashton-under-Lyne; James Brindle, of Blackburn; Lawrence Townley, of Burnley; Mathew Deane, of Prescot; Phillip Antrobus, of Knutsford; Nathaniell Poole, of Macclesfield; Edward Wood, of Macclesfield; George B—, of Nantwich; Daniell Jackson, of Nantwich; Margaret Nicholson, of Stockport; and Ralph and Eliz: Nicholson, of Stockport.

The Tallow Chandlers': per fesse and per pale, three doves, each holding an olive branch; on the tokens issued by John Goulding, of Ashton-under-Lyne; John Doson, of Heaton; John Wall, of Prescot; Mathew Markland, of Wigan; Robert Winstanley, of Wigan; and James Hutchinson, of Chester.

The Weavers': on a chevron between three leopards' faces, as many roses; on the token issued by Robert Martlers, of Rochdale.

The Woolmen: a woolpack; on the tokens issued by Adam Twaite, of Chowbent, and Richard Higson, of Leigh. The only town token in the series was issued at Tarleton.

The fashion of people having two or more Christian names was probably unknown to the issuers of these coins, and it is noteworthy that after careful examination of all the tokens known to have been issued, it cannot with certainty be ascertained that any issuer has more than one Christian name.

On the tokens the initial letter of the surname is usually placed over the initial letters of the Christian names of the husband and wife, but for the convenience of printing the three initial letters are placed in one line, the middle letter being the initial of the wife's Christian name.

These tokens were issued simply to supply the pressing

demand for change, and were the only means with which the poor had to purchase the common necessaries of life. They are valueless as works of art, the design and spelling on the majority of specimens being very defective and irregular, but nevertheless they have of late years been eagerly sought for by numismatists, genealogists, and antiquaries.

The list of Lancashire and Cheshire tokens published by Mr. William Boyne, in 1858, in his standard work, entitled *Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century*, and a list of the Lancashire tokens contained in a paper read before the Numismatic Society of Manchester in 1872, by Mr. Charles Golding, have, by the kind permission of those gentlemen, been herein incorporated, and much enlarged and corrected.

Several of the tokens described in those lists have been since found to belong to other counties, and are therefore not included in the present compilation.

The study and collection of these interesting relics of the seventeenth century was almost entirely neglected until about thirty years ago, but recently the number of collectors has much increased, and very numerous additions have been made to Mr. Boyne's work describing nearly ten thousand specimens.

After the lapse of more than two centuries it is difficult to estimate the entire issue of these coins, the melting pot having so long been their chief receptacle.

This unauthorised money was in circulation in England and Wales from the close of the reign of King Charles I., in 1648, to 1672-3, and in Ireland seven years later, and passed largely from hand to hand during the interregnum.

It is purposed to draw attention only to those tokens which were issued in Lancashire and Cheshire, and all specimens at present known are hereinafter particularly described.

LANCASHIRE.

Ashton-under-Lyne.

O. GEORGE . BARDSLAYE. 1669=G . E . B. ½
R. IN . ASHTON . VNDER . LINE=HIS . HALFE . PENNY.

O. IONATHAN . BVTTERWORTH=HIS . HALFE . PENNY. ½
R. IN . ASHTON . VNDER . LINE=I . A . B.

O. IOHN . GOVLDING=The tallow chandlers' arms. ½
R. IN . ASHTON. 1669=I . G.

O. IOHN . AND . MARY . HEYWOOD=THEIR . HALF . PENY. ½
R. IN . ASHTON. 1667=I . M . H.

The following entry is found in the Rev. Mr. Oliver Heywood's "Vellum Book with One Clasp:"

"674. Mr. John Heywood of Ashton parish under line buryed June 3, 1691, aged 60."

O. BENIAMIN . WALKER . MERCER=The mercers' arms. ½
R. OF . ASHETON . VNDER . LINE=His name in monogram.

Blackburn.

O. IAMES . BOLTON. 1666=A bolt through a tun. ½
R. IN . BLACKEBORNE=HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. IAMES . BOLTON. 1666=A bolt through a tun. ½
R. IN . BLACKEBORNE=A bolt through a tun.

Probably brother of John Bolton, of Brookhouse, parish clerk of Blackburn (who died in 1688). But there was another James Bolton living in the latter years of the seventeenth century, who was a son of the parish clerk of Blackburn, born in 1668, and brother of Giles Bolton, of Blackburn, mercer. The second James Bolton named might, however, be too young to have issued these tokens. The device of an arrow or bolt piercing the bung of a tun is the rebus of the family name of Bolton.*

O. IAMES . BRINDLE. 1666=The mercers' arms. ½
R. OF . BLACKEBORNE=HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. IAMES . BRINDLE . OF=½D, and the mercers' arms. ½
R. BLACKBVRNE. 1667=The mercers' arms.

* This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. W. A. Abram, J.P., Blackburn.

O. RICHARD . HAWORTH = The apothecaries' arms. ½

R. OF . BLACKBORNE . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Richard Haworth, of Blackburn, apothecary, died in 1694, and was buried October 5th. By his first wife he had sons Thomas and John. He married secondly February 22nd, 1681, Jennet Bentley, and had issue—Peter, born 1682; Henry, born 1689; Richard, born 1691; and Grace, born 1685. October 29th, 1694, letters of tuition and curation were granted to Randle Fielden, of Great Harwood, mercer, of the persons and estate of Peter Haworth, aged twelve years, Grace, aged nine, Henry, aged five, and Richard, aged three, children of Richard Haworth, of Blackburn, apothecary, deceased.*

O. ANTHONY . WELLS . IN = A pestle and mortar. ½

R. BLACKBVRNE . 1667 = HIS . HALFE . PENNY.

Bolton.

O. IAMES . MOLLINEX = Two pipes and a roll of tobacco. ¼

R. OF . BOVLTN . 1651 = I . F . M.

O. Robert . Moss . of . Bolton. ½

R. HIS . HALF . PENNY = A bolt in a tun.

O. Robert . Norris . of . Bolton. 1667. ½

R. HIS . HALF . PENY = A bolt in a tun.

Mr. Robert Norris was a sidesman of Bolton Parish Church in 1699 and 1704, during the vicariate of the Rev. Peter Haddon.†

O. MARY . ROBERTS = 1666. ½

R. OF . BOLTON = M . R.

O. WILLIAM . SMALLSHAWE = I? Two pipes crossed and a roll of tobacco. I

R. OF . BOVLTON . IN . LANCASHEIR = W . E . S.

Mr. William Smallshawe was a churchwarden of the Bolton Parish Church in 1707, and a sidesman in 1715, during the vicariate of the Rev. Peter Haddon.

Extracts from the Bolton Parish Church Registers.

Mrs. Mary Smallshaw, Great Bolton, widow, buried 25 Dec., 1780.

Mr. William Smallshaw, Great Bolton, junior, buried 5 Oct., 1742-3.

Ann, daur. of William and Mary Smallshaw, Great Bolton, bapt. 17 July, 1722-3.

Ann, wife of Mr. William Smallshaw, of Great Bolton, buried 9 Nov., 1716-7.

William, son of William and Mary Smallshaw, Great Bolton, born 19 Jan., bap. 1 Feb., 1721-2.

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* This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. W. A. Abram.

† This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. James C. Scholes, of Bolton.

Dorothy, daur. Wm. and Mary Smallshaw, Great Bolton, bap. 28 Apl., 1724-5.

William Smallshaw, Great Bolton, burd. 12 Dec., 1726-7.*

Burnley.

O. LAWRENCE . TOWNLEY = The mercers' arms. ½

R. OF . BVRNLEY . 1669 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

This token was found in 1881 by some workman whilst preparing a piece of ground, lately the site of some ancient gabled houses, for paving, opposite Burnley Parish Church gates, and the site of the old market place of the town, and where the old market cross and public stocks formerly stood. Mr. William Waddington, Burnley, market superintendent, in describing it in the *Palatine Note-book*, published in Manchester, says that at the date of the token there were two families in the neighbourhood of Burnley bearing the same name, but spelling it slightly different, also both springing from the same stock—one Towneley, of Towneley Hall, near Burnley (Whitaker's *Whalley*, 4th ed., ii. 190), and the other Townley, of Carr Hall, in Marsden and Barnside, in Colne (ii. 256). Dr. Whitaker's pedigree of the latter family shows a Lawrence Townley contemporary with the token, who perhaps issued tokens in payment for labour on his large estates and goods for his household.†

Bury.

O. SAMVELL . WARINGE . 1667 = A man on horseback. ½

R. HIS . HALFE . PENNY = S . W.

In the Northowram register of the Rev. Oliver Heywood and the Rev. T. Dickenson are the following entries:—

"Mr. Saml. Wareing of Bury buried his wife abt. July 20" [1705].

"Mr. Saml. Wareing of Bury and Mrs. Esther Crompton of Old Hall near Stand of Pilkington married Aug." [1710].

"Mr. Saml. Wareing of Bury in Lancr. died June 25 of a few hours sickness" [1717].

"Mrs. Wareing of Wakefield died Apr. 14, bur. the same day" [1739].

"Mr. Samuel Wareing of Bury died Dec." [1742].

"Miss —— dr. of the late Mr. Samll. Waringe of Bury Lancashire bur. Sep. 9" [1743].

"Miss —— dr. of the said Mr. Wareing died also Sep. 11" [1743].

Chadderton.

O. IAMES . SCHOLES . 1671 = HIS . HALF . PENY . I . M . S. ½

R. IN . CHADDERTON . NEARE . MANCHESTER = A star.

A star of eight points is the crest of the innholders' arms.

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* This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. James C. Scholes.

† This note has been kindly supplied by Major Creeke, Burnley.

Cheetham.

O. RICHARD . FEN . HIS . HALF = A horse shoe. ½

R. PENY . OF . CHETHAM . 1668 = R . E . F.

Chorley.

O. THOMAS . ALLANSON = Two pipes and a roll of tobacco. ¼

R. IN . CHORLEY . 1653 = T . B . A.

O. HVGH . COOPER . OF . CHORLEY = HIS . HALFE . PENNY. ½

R. GOD . SAVE . THE . KING . 1667 = A rose and crown.

O. ROB . DICCONSON . OF . CHORLEY = Three battle axes (two and one). ½

R. HIS . HALFE . PENNY . 1667 = R . M . D.

The Dicconsons were seated at Wrightington. One Barbara Dicconson, of Wrightington, was on the 15th of June, 1731, married to John Towneley, of Cornsay House and of Towneley. Some of the others married into the families of Ffarrington, of Shawe Hall, and Walmesley, of Sholley, all in the county of Lancaster.

O. THOMAS . WASLEY = The cordwainers' arms. ½

R. IN . CHORLEY . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. IAMES . WOLSTENHOLME = A heart pierced with two arrows. ½

R. OF . CHORLEY . 1669 = HIS . HALF . PENY . I . E . W.

Chowbent.

O. ADAM . TWAITE = A woolpack. 1

R. IN . CHOWBENT = HIS . PENNY.

The bale of wool is part of the arms of the company of woolmen.

Clitheroe.

O. ARTHVR . ASHTON = A roll of tobacco and two pipes crossed. ¼

R. IN . CLITHEROW = A. A.

O. THOMAS . CVTTLER = A sword. ½

R. OF . CLITHEROW . 1669 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. EDMVND . ROBINSON = The grocers' arms. ½

R. OF CLITHROE . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. ROBERT . TALLBOTT = A talbot passant. ½

R. OF . CLITHEROW . 1669 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

This issuer was the son of John Talbott, of Rishton, near Blackburn, gentleman. Robert Tallbott married Isabel Lawson, of Clitheroe. He had a son named George Talbott, who was a burgess of Preston at the Guild of 1682.*

O. IOHN . TOWNLEY . IN = The drapers' arms. ½

R. CLITHEROWE . 1667 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

John Townley was a younger son of Henry Townley, of Dutton, gentleman. He was born in 1637, and married Katherine, daughter of Mr. William Guy, of York. He had a daughter Anne.*

Colne.

O. IOHN . BLAKEY = HIS . HALFE . PENY. ½

R. IN . COVLNE . 1667 = A merchant's mark (the Bowen's knot).

The Blakeys, of Blakey, were a very old family of lesser gentry on the Lancashire border near Colne. One of them, John Blakey, of Colne, died on Aug. 24th, 1657, as stated on his grave stone in Colne churchyard. Perhaps a son of his, of Lanehead, near Colne, gentleman; and this might be the John Blakey who issued this token. His only child and heiress was Alice Blakey, who married, first, Henry Lonsdale, of High Riley, in Accrington, secondly, Thomas Parker, Esq., of Alkencoats, near Colne (her eldest son, Robert, by her second husband, was born in 1720), and died in 1737. Alice Blakey would be born about 1675-85, and if her father, John Blakey, was the token issuer under notice, his coin was issued whilst he was still a young man. In the diary of Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary, occurs, on September 1st, 1702, an entry made when Thoresby was at Colne: "I was at a loss for Mr. Blakey (who married my old friend Mr. Brearcliffe's daughter), who were enquiring for me at Leeds; when I was for them at Coln; but Mr. Tatham, the minister [of Colne] gave me satisfaction in many things." In the general record of deaths of persons of note, &c., all over this district in 1717 this item: "Mr. John Blakey of Coln in Lancr. died of a palsie, buried June 20;" another Mr. Blakey, of Coln, buried June 29th, 1724.*

Crosby.

O. THOMAS . ALCOCKE = The drapers' arms. ½

R. OF . CROSBY . 1667 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Thomas Alcocke was a bailiff of Liverpool in 1663 (See note to the token issued by Thomas Johnson, of Liverpool).

Garstang.

O. WILL . LANCASTER = A stick of candles. ¼

R. IN . GARSTANG . 1663 = W . L.

For another token of Garstang and Preston, issued by John Cadman, see description under Preston.

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* These notes have been kindly supplied by Mr. W. A. Abram.

Halliwell.

O. WILLIAM . BOARDMAN = W . E . B (the W E in monogram). ¼

R. IN . HALLIWELL . 1666.

O. IN . HALLIWELL . 1652 = W . A . B. ¼

R. NERE . SMITHILLES = An Indian smoking.

The ancient mansion of the Bartons at Halliwell is called Smithell's Hall.

Halton.

O. NICHOLAS . TOKIN = An anchor. ¼

R. IN . HALTON = N . A . T.

Haslingden.

O. IAMES . HARDGREAVES = A pair of scales. I . A . H.

R. OF . HASLINGDIN = 1667.

O. IOHN . LORD . 1668 = I . E . L . and a unicorn. ½

R. OF . HASLINGDEN = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Heaton.

O. IOHN . DOSON . OF . HEATON = I . M . D and three doves. ½

R. NEERE . MANCHESTER = HIS . HALFE . PENNY.

The three doves are part of the tallow-chandlers' arms.

Holland.

O. WILLIAM . IACKSON . OF . 1667 = An eagle and child. ½

R. HOLLAND . HIS . HALF . PENY = W . I.

Mr. William Boyne, F.S.A., has placed this token to Holland in Lincolnshire, but it is now thought it belongs to Lancashire. The device of the eagle and child is found on other Lancashire tokens (see William Proctor, Lancaster, and James Hamar, Rochdale). The eagle and child is the crest of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby.

Huyton.

O. THOMAS . HODGSON = The grocers' arms. ½

R. IN . HVYTON . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Kirby.

O. IOHN . DENT . OF . KIRBY = A tree and two small flowers. ½

R. HIS . HALF . PENY . 1667 = A bunch of grapes and vine leaves.

Kirkham.

O. MARY . DAVIS . 1671 = The grocers' arms. ½
R. IN . KERKHAM = M . D . ½ (The M D in monogram).

O. IEFREY . WOODS = I . O . W (The O W in monogram). ½
R. IN . KERKHAM = 1670 ½.

Lancaster.

O. IOHN . CRAMPTON = Two keys in saltire. ½
R. IN . LANCASHIRE . 1667 = HIS . HALFE . PENNY.

O. THOMAS . GREENE . IN = T . E . G. ¼
R. LANCESTER . TOWNE = A lion rampant.

"In 1660 on the 20th of 11 mo at a Quakers' meeting, the Justices with a party of soldiers some with swords drawn and pistols cockt others with muskets and lighted matches took away all the men they found there and committed them to the Castle Prison." Thomas Greene was among the number.

O. IOHN . GREENWOOD = A lion rampant. ¼
R. IN LANCKSTER = I . G.

O. IOHN HODGSON = A female figure. ¼
R. IN . LANCASTER = I . H.

O. IOHN . LAWSON = I . M . L. ¼
R. IN . LANCASTER = A lamb carrying a flag.

John Lawson was a member of the Society of Friends, or, as generally called, Quakers. In the year 1652, for preaching in the Steeple House Yard (the churchyard was so designated by them) at Malpas, he was set in the stocks for four hours and imprisoned at the County Gaol for twenty-three weeks. In 1654, for speaking in a steeple house at Lancaster, he was at the assizes fined £20, and for non-payment was imprisoned for a year. Again, on the 20th of the 11th month, 1660, for meeting together, he was taken to the Castle Prison and committed for refusing the oath tendered to him in court. "Accusations against John Lawson, of Lancaster, by him answered," is the title of a tract printed for him in quarto, 1653.

O. IOHN . MASHTER = The apothecaries' arms. ½
R. OF . LANCASTER . 1668 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. WILLIAM . PROCKTER = An eagle and child. 1
R. IN . LANCASTER . 1671 = W . E . P . I^{D}

O. WILLIAM . PROCKTER = An eagle and child. ½
R. IN . LANCASTER. 1670 = W . E . P . ½.

Leigh.

O. RICHARD . HIGSON = A woolpack.

R. IN . LEIGH . 1666 = R . E . H.

O. CHARLES . RODGERS . OF = The Royal Oak, whereon are three crowns. ½

R. LEAH . HIS . HALFE . PENNY — C . R . 1668.

The Royal Oak, the Boscobel oak tree, and three crowns, implying the diadems of the three kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Little Lever.

O. RICHARD . HEWOOD . IN = A ragged staff. ½

R. LITELL . LEVER. 1652 = R . A . H.

Richard Heywood was the son of Oliver Heywood, of Little Lever, by his wife Alice Hulton, of Breightmet, in the parish of Bolton, and was born at Little Lever in 1596. He was a freeholder and was largely engaged in commerce. He was twice married, first to Alice Critchlaw, of Longworth, in the parish of Bolton, and secondly to Margaret Brereton. He had a numerous family, the particulars of which are brought down to a recent date in Foster's *Lancashire Pedigrees.*

During the taking of Bolton by Prince Rupert's army, his library, which had been removed from his dwelling house by one of his daughters for safety, was unfortunately lost. He died much respected, and in the diary of his son, the Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., for the year 1677 is the following entry:—

"At last God hath put an end to the long and afflicted days of my dear, tender-hearted father; he died March 1st, aged about eighty-two. I may say of him as is recorded of Abraham, that 'he gave up the ghost and died in a good old age, an old man full of years; and was gathered unto his people:' and as Isaac and Ishmael buried him in a cave, so my dear brother and I buried our beloved father. O my soul, hast thou not some tears to shed at the funeral of a father? Nature binds thee to some workings of affection, and grace helps to regulate them. Thou hast parted with a father, and is this nothing? God would not have such a providence pass without observation and improvement. Thou hast buried a father that provided food and raiment for thee in thy younger days, a father that was at great care and charge for thy education, both in the best schools of the neighbourhood and at the university; but all this was small compared with the inward and anxious workings of his heart for thee, which thou didst never so feelingly know till thou hast of late felt the same towards thy own. O what instructions, exhortations, and admonitions didst thou receive from him! What prayers did he put up for thee, and what grief did he feel at thy failings! What jealousy he had of me when he came to visit me at Cambridge! What charge did he leave with my tutor concerning me, and how gladly did he welcome any hopes of my well-doing! What solicitude he had concerning my settlement! and though he had been at a great expense in my education, yet how fearful was he lest I should enter the ministry unfit. This

induced him to make provision for my residence in Mr. Angier's family, but Providence called me to this place. Even then he did not leave me, but followed me with his counsels and prayers to his dying day. O what a father! Few have the like! though I can truly say, I have studied to requite him, and though nothing I could do for him too much, in his straits, yet I have fallen far short of a full recompense. He had a tender love for me, and I hope the remembrance of it will not be quickly worn away from my mind. My gracious Lord also hath not left me comfortless, concerning my dear, deceased father. Blessed be God that his hoary head was found in the ways of righteousness, and that we have good reasons for hope that he sleeps in Jesus, and will have a happy resurrection; and what can we desire more? O Lord, raise up a succession of God-fearing worshippers; and as thou hast been my father's God, and my God, and the God of my dear companion now at rest, so continue to be my God and guide to death, and be the God of my children, and children's children, even to a thousand generations."

The following is a copy of the inscription on his tombstone: —

> "Here lyeth the body of Richard Heywood of Little Lever; who had followed the Lord sixty-four yeares in Christian profession and practice through various conditions; at last fell asleep March 1 1676-7, in the 81st year of his age. 'There let the weary be at rest.'"

Liverpool.

O. PETER . ATHERTON = A sugar loaf. ½
R. OF . LIVERPOOLE . 1668 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

William Williamson and Peter Atherton were the bailiffs of Liverpool in 1673, during the mayoralty of James Jerrom.

O. GEORGE . BENNETT . IN = A ship. ½
R. LIVERPOOLE . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Thomas Preeson and George Bennett were the bailiffs of Liverpool in 1665, during the mayoralty of Michael Tarleton.

O. CHARLES . CHRISTIAN = A castle. 1
R. GROCER . IN . LIVERPOOLE = HIS . PENNY . 1669.

O. ADDAM . CRVMPTON = A . C. ½
R. IN . LEVERPOOL = 1657.

O. RICHARD . CRVMPTON = Hope seated on an anchor. ½
R. OF . LIVERPOOLE . 1667 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. WILLIAM . DWERYHOWSE = HIS . PENNY. 1
R. IN . LIVERPOOLE . 1670 = Arms in a shield; three buckles, two and one.

O. ROGER . GORSVCH . MERCER = The babes in the wood. 1

R. IN . LEVERPOOLE . 1672 = HIS . PENY [this token is heart shape].

O. RALPH . HALL = 1661. ¼

R. OF . LIVERPOOLE = R . E . H.

O. THOMAS . IOHNSON = The grocers' arms. ½

R. IN . LIVERPOOLE . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

The issuer of this token became a councilman in 1659. Thomas Johnson and Thomas Alcock were bailiffs of Liverpool in 1663, during the mayoralty of Peter Lurtin. Thomas Johnson was mayor in 1670, and was the father of Sir Thomas Johnson, afterwards M.P. for Liverpool, who is said to have died in America.

O. IOHN . PEMBERTON = The apothecaries' arms. ½

R. IN . LIVERPOOLE . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Lau. Marsh and John Pemberton were the bailiffs of Liverpool in 1660, during the mayoralty of Alexander Green. John Pemberton built the first house erected in Moor Street. In the *Moore Rental*, published by the Chetham Society, he is described as "John Pemberton the Apothecary, a base ill-contrived fellow."

O. SAMVELL . RATHBORNE = A lion rampant. ½

R. IN . LIVERPOOLE . 1669 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

The present William Rathbone [1880] is the sixth in direct descent of a line of Liverpool merchants, all bearing the same Christian name. One of them, known as "honest William," brought the first shipload of cotton into Liverpool. The house, "Greenbank," in the outskirts of Liverpool, has been inhabited by three generations of the family. They are nearly related to the Reynolds, to whom Bristow owed so much.*

O. EDWARD . WILLIAMSON . OF = The drapers' arms. ½

R. LIVERPOOLE . ALDERMAN = HIS . HALFE . PENNY.

Edward Williamson was Mayor of Liverpool in 1663; his will was administered at Chester in October, 1687. Williamson Square and Williamson Street, in Liverpool, are called after him.

Manchester.

O. IOHN . ABRAHAM = HIS . HALFE . PENY. ½

R. IN . MANCHESTER = I . R . A.

John Abraham was a Quaker, and for attending a meeting was taken before

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*This note was kindly communicated by the late Mr. J. S. Smallfield, London.

a justice on the 27th of the 11th month, 1660, and in 1661, and on the 16th of the 4th month, on refusal to take the oath of allegiance, was sent to Lancaster Gaol.

O. *HENRY . BARLOW . 1667 = HIS . HALFE . PENNY. ½

R. IN . MANCHESTER = H . B.

Henry Barlow was a chapman, and was buried 21st August, 1668. His son Henry married Susanna Pollett.

O. *GEORGE . BOOTH . 1665 = HIS . HALF . PENY. ½

R. IN . MANCHESTER = G . I . B.

On March 27, 1653, "Elizabeth, daughter of George Booth, of Manchester, Grosser," was baptized at the Collegiate Church—as was another daughter, Mary, in 1656 (month and day not given).

George Booth was a grocer, and was buried on January 28, 1666-7. In "1669, April 16th, George Booth, Manchester, Pensioner," probably a son of George Booth, grocer, appears amongst the list of admissions to Jesus College, Cambridge.†

The following is a copy of the inscription upon Mr. Booth's grave stone, which was found some years ago in excavating a foundation in Great Ancoats-street, Manchester, and is now in the possession of James Beard, Esq., The Grange, Levenshulme :—

"Here resteth the body of George Booth of Manchester, Grosser, who was bvried the 28 Janvary, Anno Domini 1666.

"Isabel, wife to George Booth, buried April 24, 1693.

"Also George Booth, Mr. of Arts and Minister, son of the said George, buried March 4, 1678.

"Mary his daughter, buried July 2, 1723.

"Nathaniel Ward, buried April 14, 1767, aged 67 years."

The first inscription is quite different in the character of the lettering to the others, being done in large capitals, and is as distinct as if cut yesterday.

O. *WILLIAM . BOWKER = HIS . HALF . PENY. ½

R. IN . MANCHESTER = W . B . 1665.

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*These issuers signed the protestation of 1641-2, to which the author of *Hudibras* thus refers :—

Did they not next compel the nation
To take and break the Protestation?
To swear, and after to recant
The solemn leage and covenant?
To take th' engagement, and disclaim it,
Enforc'd by those who first did frame it?

II. ii. 153-8.

†This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. J. E. Bailey, F.S.A., Manchester.

William Bowker, grocer, was buried at the Parish Church, Manchester, on the 27th June, 1677; his son William was buried December 16th, 1680.†

O. ANDREW . BVRY . OF . MANCHESTER = The apothecaries' arms. 1

R. HIS . PENY . 1671 = Arms of the city of London.

This issuer married Martha, seventh daughter of Peter Heywood, of the Isle of Man. This Peter was the nephew of "Powder plot (Peter) Heywood," of Heywood, who took the lantern (now in the Bodleian Library) from Guido Vaux when he attempted to blow up the Parliament House.

O. *IOHN . CHARLETON = The apothecaries' arms. ½

R. IN . MANCHESTER = I . C [the I C in monogram].

John Charleton, the father of the issuer of this token, was the brother-in-law of Richard Johnson, Fellow of Christ's College, and was imprisoned with Mrs. Johnson because he would not confess where Mr. Johnson had conveyed his books and papers. Mr. Charleton, senr., was of the Millgate in 1647; he was junior constable of Manchester, and died February 9th, 1662-63. John Charleton, jr., died in 1705.‡

O. IONATHAN . EATON = HIS . HALFE . PENY. ½

R. IN . MANCHESTER . 1667 = I . E.

O. *RICHARD . HVNT . 1669 = His name in monogram. ½

R. OF . MANCHESTER = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Richard Hunt was an innkeeper in 1640-4; on November 18th, 1639, he married by licence Mary Butler; he was a juror in 1641, and in 1645 a member of the Commonwealth committee.‡

O. *ISAAC . MOSSE . 1667 = HIS . HALFE . PENNY. ½

R. IN . MANCHESTER = I . M . M.

Isaac Moss was a member of the Society of Friends. He married a daughter of Samuel Watson, of Knight-Stainforth, in Yorkshire, one of the early Quakers, who, after a life of persecution, died at Chester, 20th September, 1706, and was buried there, aged eighty-eight years. His wife, Mary Moss, died on November 29th, 1692. The first corpse interred at the meeting-house yard in Lancaster was that of the mother of Mary Moss.‡

O. *IOHN . NEILD . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY. ½

R. IN . MANCHESTER = I . N.

O. EMARY . OLDFEILD = The grocers' arms. ¼

R. OF . MANCHESTER = E . O.

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* These issuers signed the protestation of 1641-2.

† This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. John Owen.

‡ These notes have been kindly supplied by Mr. J. E. Bailey.

This tradesman was a member of a family settled in Manchester, nearly all the male members of which (in the same generation and in several later generations) were woollen drapers.

He was the younger of the two sons of John Oldfield (of Rotherham) and Isabella his wife, the latter being the daughter of William Emery, of Sheffield, gentleman, who was, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., a steward or confidential agent to the Right Hon. Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G. (son of the famous custodian of Mary Queen of Scots). Mr. Emery Oldfield clearly derived his Christian name from the surname of his grandfather, under whose will he was a legatee. Mr. Oldfield's paternal ancestors, for at least two generations, were Yorkshire freeholders.

The elder brother, John, who (probably in company with Emery Oldfield) migrated into Manchester out of Yorkshire shortly before 1650, became a very prosperous and wealthy Manchester tradesman (woollen draper), having been fortunate in securing the hand of Mary Booth, a granddaughter of the eminent Humphrey Booth, founder of Trinity Church, Salford.

Emery Oldfield married on the 27th March, 1656, at Prestwich Church, near Manchester, Ann, daughter of Robert Gartside, of Prestwich. A son was born of this marriage in 1657; the register entry of the baptism, in the Manchester Collegiate Church being as follows:—"1658, Jan. 2. Emerie, Son of Emerie Ouldfield." (On the 17th of the same month this boy was buried at the latter church, he being described in the burial register as "Emerie, Son of Amery Huldfield.")

On the 13th August, 1692, there was buried at the Collegiate Church, "Amery Oldfield of Manchester," and on the 5th October, 1709, a "Mr. Amery Oldfield," the latter being undoubtedly the Mr. Oldfield the issuer of this token, who was alive in 1694, when his wife Ann died and was buried at the Manchester Collegiate Church on December 26th.†

O. *THOMAS . PODMORE=HIS . HALFE . PENY. ½

R. OF . MANCHESTER=T . P . 1666.

"Thomas Podmore lived near the Market Stidd in 1644." He was an ancestor of the peruke maker, who became the friend of Dr. Deacon, and the author of *The Layman's apology for return'ng to Primitive Christianity*, 1747.‡

O. *IOHN . RYLANDS . IN=HIS . HALF . PENY. ½

R. MANCHESTER . 1666=I . M . R.

IOHN . AND . MARTHA . RYLAND*=THEIR . HALFE . PENNY. ½

IN . MANCHESTER . 1667=I . M . R.

John Rylands was the son of Francis Ryland, market looker for fish and flesh.‡

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* These issuers signed the protestation of 1641-2.

† This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman, Manchester, from original sources hitherto unpublished.

‡ These notes have been supplied by Mr. J. E. Bailey.

O. IOSEPH . VIGOR . 1663 = I . D . V. ½

R. IN . MANCHESTER = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Joseph Vigor, probably a son of the issuer, was buried on the 5th April, 1733, and two of his children in 1727 and 1728. The widow of Joseph Vigor (the younger) married John Dickens, apothecary. Allen Vigor, attorney, a son of the last-named Joseph Vigor, married Mrs. Mary Croston, of Whittle, at Leyland, on July 29th, 1746. In 1749, Abigail Vigor was married. They are all buried in one grave, in the Ely Chapel, north side of the Derby Chapel, in the Cathedral, Manchester.*

O. SAMVELL . WINTER = The grocers' arms. ¼

R. IN . MANCHESTER = S . W ., and an anchor.

A warm friend of Newcome, the Nonconformist divine, who records his burial in June, 1662, in his diary.

Milnrow.

O. RICHARD . MILNE = An hour glass. ½

R. OF . MILNROW . 1671 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

The Milne family have long resided in the neighbourhood of Milnrow. A Richard Milne, probably an ancestor of the issuer, held land in Milnrow in the time of Henry VIII., which his grandfather had held. Richard Milne, the issuer, was baptised at Rochdale, 1st February, 1645-6, and buried there January 10th, 1702-3. His descendants are Richard Milne Redhead, Esq., and Oswald Milne, Esq., formerly of Manchester. For a pedigree of the family, see Rev. Canon Raines' Lancashire MSS., vol. xxxi., p. 125.†

O. GEORGE . SLATER . . . . . = A shoe sole. ½

R. IN . MILNEROW . HIS . HALF . PENY = G . I . S.

Newton.

O. WILLIAM . WILLIAMSON . OF = HIS . HALF . PENY . 1669. ½

R. NEWTON . NEAR . MANCHESTER = W . W.

"William Williamson of Newton was buried on the 9th November anno dom. 1689;" his wife, Elizabeth, was buried on August 15th, 1677. Mary Partington (wife to John Partington), eldest daughter to William Williamson, of Newton, gentleman, died on the 25th day of January, 1672. The following is a copy of the inscription on William Williamson's tombstone: "Here restheth the Body of William Williamson of Newton was buried the 9 day of November Anno dom 1689."*

O. IEFFERY . WILLISON = Two pipes and a roll of tobacco. ½

R. IN . NEWTON . 1667 = HIS . HALFE . PENNY . I . I . W.

These notes have been kindly supplied by Mr. John Owen, Stockport.

† This note has been kindly supplied by Lieut.-Col. Fishwick, Rochdale.

Oldham.

O. LAWRANCE . NVTTALL = A crown. ½
R. OF . OLDHAM . 1669 = HIS . HALF . PENY . L . A . N.

Ormskirk.

O. IOHN . BERRY . 1667 = HIS . HALF . PENY. ½
R. IN . ORMESKIRKE = I . A . B.

O. IOSHVA . CROSBIE . OF = A pair of scales. ½
R. ORMSKIRKE . HIS . HALPENY = I . C . 1668.

O. THOMAS . CROSBIE . OF . 1666 = The grocers' arms. ½
R. ORMSKIRKE . HIS . HALF . PENY = T . C.

O. THOMAS . FARRAR . OF . 1666 = The drapers' arms. ½
R. ORMSKIRKE . HIS . HALF . PENY = T . E . F.

O. WILLIAM . HAYDOCK = A church. 1
R. OF . ORMSKIRK . 1671 = HIS 1P

O. AMBROSE . IACKSON = HIS . HALF . PENY. ½
R. IN . ORMSKIRKE . 1667 = A . I.

Poulton.

O. IAMES . SMITH = The drapers' arms. ½
R. IN . POVLTON . 1667 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

"James Smith, in 1660, at the Sessions, was sent to gaol for refusing the oath of allegiance, although he had suffered five months' imprisonment previously."—Besse's *Sufferings of Quakers.*

Prescot.

O. MATHEW . DEANE = The mercers' arms. ½
R. IN . PRASCOT . 1669 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. IOHN . WALL = The dove and olive branch. ½
R. OF . PRESCOT . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Preston.

O. IOSEPH . BOLTON . OF = A lamb carrying a flag. ½
R. PRESN . AMONDERNES = The grocers' arms.

"Josephus Bolton" was admitted a burgess of Preston by Court Roll, on payment of a fine of £3. 10s. 6d. before 1662, was a guild burgess in that year with his two sons, Giles and Edward. In 1682 Joseph Bolton was an alderman of the guild, and then five sons were entered, Giles, Edward, Samuel, Joseph, and James. This Joseph Bolton was apparently one of the Blackburn

Boltons, several others of whom subsequently settled as traders in Preston. He was elected an alderman of Preston on the 23rd day of October, 1676, and died before 20th August, 1683.*

O. IOHN . CADMAN . OF = The apothecaries' arms. ½

R. PRESTON . AND . GARSTANG = HIS . HALF . PENNY . 1668.

Before the guild merchant of 1662 "Johannes Cadman Apothecarius" had been admitted a burgess of Preston by Court Roll, on payment of a fine of £5. 10s. He was enrolled at that guild, and twenty years later "John Cadman, son of John deceased," was enrolled an inburgess of Preston at the guild of 1682. John Cadman would, it is likely, be a kinsman of William Cadman, of the city of London, stationer, who, in regard of the late sad accident of fire (the great fire of London in 1666), which had stopped his trade there, was on the 1st of October, 1666, admitted by the Mayor and Council of Preston to inhabit and trade as a stationer in that borough for a term of two years. John Cadman displayed zeal in defence of the privileges of the trading companies of Preston in a contest with a number of traders from the Blackburn district who sought a market for their wares in Preston. This was about 1670-80.*

O. ROGER . HADDOCK & IOHN . RAVALD = The grocers' arms. 1

R. OF . PRESTON . THEIR . PENNY = R . H and I . R and I? in a knot.

Before 1662 Roger Haddock was admitted by Court Roll a burgess of Preston—"Rogerus Haddock, servt. to Mr. Rich'd Sumpner, if he serve out his tyme"—and paid £3 as fine. Roger Haydock was an inburgess of the guild of 1662. He was a councilman of the guild of 1682. He died before 2nd November, 1691.

"John Revald" was between 1662 and 1682 admitted by Court Roll a burgess of Preston on payment of £3 fine, and at the guild of 1682 John Revald was enrolled as an inburgess and with him his two sons, Robert and Richard. John Revald's eldest son Robert Revald was elected a councilman of Preston on the 14th March, 1701-2, was accordingly a councilman of the guild of 1702, and died before 14th April, 1712. Later members of this family were burgesses at the guild of 1722, and Mr. John Ravald, gentleman, was elected one of the council 17th November, 1729; "John Ravald gent" was elected alderman 17th July, 1739, was mayor of Preston in 1739-40, and died on the 17th July, 1741.*

O. IOHN . KELLET . THOMAS . WOLEY = The grocers' arms. ½

R. IN . PRESTON . THEIR . HALF . PENY = C . P and a lamb carrying a flag.

Whalley is the proper spelling of this surname. At the Preston Guild of 1662, "Thomas Whalley, grocer," was an inburgess. He had previously been

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* These notes have been kindly supplied by Mr. W. A. Abram.

admitted by Court Roll on payment of £5. 5s. as fine. He was dead before 1682, when William, James, Thomas, and John Whalley, "sons of Thomas deceased," were enrolled as guild burgesses.*

O. CHRISTOPHER . NOWELL=A lamb carrying a flag. ½

R. OF . PRESTON. 1672=HIS . HALF . PENY.

Christopher Nowell was a townsman of note in his day, sometime before 1662. "Christopherus Nowell" was admitted by Court Roll a burgess of Preston, paying a fine of £4. 10s. At the guild merchant of 1662 he was entered and sworn as a guild burgess, together with his son Thomas. He was probably the same person with Christopher Nowell, third son of Christopher Nowell, of Little Mearley, near Clitheroe, who died in 1628, and brother of William Nowell, of Little Mearley, living in 1661. On 2nd August, 1672, Mr. Christopher Nowell was elected a councilman of Preston. He was elected alderman subsequently, and in 1682 he was an alderman of the guild. He had other two sons, enrolled "Thomas Filius Christopheri an Alderman Guilde," and John, brother of Thomas. On 13th May, 1685, the town council of Preston ordered "That Christofer Nowell be desired to procure a box for putting in the New Charter, and that he also take care to read the same to Mr. Mallory at London," &c. 11th July, 1701, "Mr. Christopher Nowell, having now some considerable time been an inhabitant of Leyland, was at his own request discharged from the Council" of Preston. Members of Mr. Christopher Nowell's family were still seated at Leyland in 1722.*

O. IOHN . SHIELD=The grocers' arms. ¼

R. IN . PRESTON . 1664=I . S.

O. RICHARD . SVMPNER=The grocers' arms. ¼

R. IN . PRESTON=R . S.

O. RICH : AND . IOHN . SVMPNER . OF=A lamb carrying a flag. ½

R. PRESTON . THEIR . HALF . PENY=The grocers' arms.

Richard Sumpner was one of an old Preston family—the Sumpners, Sompners, or Sumners. Richard Sumpner was one of the sons of John Sumpner, of Preston, entered with the father at the guild of 1642. In 1662, Richard Sumpner appears as a guild burgess, and enters three sons—John, James, and Alexander. Roger Haddock (see his token) was his servant and apprentice. At the guild of 1682, three generations of this family are enrolled together—Richard Sumpner, gent.; John Sumpner, grocer, his son, and John Sumpner, his (John's) son. Richard Sumpner's brother, Mr. Thomas Sumpner, was an alderman of Preston, and steward of the guild of 1662. In the *Palatine Note-book* of December, 1884, there is an abstract of a deed dated 17th August, 1641, to which "Richard Sumpner, of Preston, Grocer," was a

* These notes have been kindly supplied by Mr. W. A. Abram.

party. Richard Sumpner must, therefore, have been an aged man in 1682, when he was yet living, but where his son John, there described as "Grocer," had doubtless succeeded to the business from which the father had retired.*

Risley.

O. MARY . EARLE=Three tobacco pipes. ½

R. OF . RYSLEY . 1668=HER . HALFE . PENNY.

Mr. William Boyne has placed this token to Derbyshire, but it is now thought it belongs to Lancashire, as Earle is a local name, and a specimen has been found in the neighbourhood.

Rochdale.

O. IOHN . BVTTERWORTH=Bust of the Queen of Bohemia crowned. ¼

R. OF . RATHDELL . 1662=I . B.

There were several persons of this name living in the neighbourhood; it is, therefore, impossible to identify the issuer of this token.

O. IAMES . HAMAR . OF=An eagle and child. ¼

R. RATCHDALL . 1655=I . H.

There were several persons of this name living in the neighbourhood; it is, therefore, impossible to identify the issuer of this token.

O. RICHARD . KENION=HIS . HALF . PENY. ½

R. OF . RACHDALL . 1666=R . K.

O. RICHARD . KENION=HIS . HALF . PENY. ½

R. OF . RACHDALL . 1667=R . I . K.

O. ROBERT . MARTLERS=The weavers' arms. ½

R. IN . RACHDALL . 1666=HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. IOSVA . STRENGFELLOW=The grocers' arms. ¼

R. IN . ROCHDALE=I . S.

The Strengfellows appear to have come from the neighbourhood of Warrington. Robert Strengfellow, mercer, of Rochdale, purchased from Edward Taylor, of Glodwick, yeoman, a messuage in 1670. The premises were in "Hopkinfold," and about the sale a bill of complaint was filed in the Duchy Court on 21st December, 1671.†

Shaw.

O. IAMES . CHETHAM . OF . SHAW=A talbot passant. ½

R. FEILD . NEERE . ROCHDALE=HIS . HALF . PENY . I . M . C.

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* This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. W. A. Abram.

† This note has been kindly supplied by Lieut.-Col. Fishwick, Rochdale.

Tarleton.

O. TARLETON . TOWNE . HALPENIES = A boat. 1669. ½

R. = A church.

Turton.

O. AT . WOMORSLE . CHAPEL = W . A . W. ¼

R. IN . TVRTON = 1652.

Warrington.

O. IOSHVA . ABRAHAM = I . M . A. and a roll of cloth. ½

R. IN . WARRINGTON . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Joshua Abraham was a churchwarden in 1670. His widow was buried at Warrington on December 18th, 1696.

O. EDWARD . BORRON . OF . 1667 = A bull statant. ½

R. WARRINGTON . HIS . HALF . PENY = A crown.

O. EDWARD . BORRON . OF . 1668 = A bull statant. ½

R. WARRINGTON . HIS . HALF . PENY = A crown.

Edward Borron was buried at Warrington on December 24, 1676.

Extracts from the Warrington Parish Church Registers:

Baptisms.

1634 Apl 20. Arthur, son to Arthur Burron.
1635 May 19. Jane, dau. to Arthur Borron.
1637 Apl 9. Edward, son to Arthur Borron.
1638 Nov 30. Bridget, dau. to Mr. Arthur Borron.
1641 July 9. Peter, son to Mr. Arthur Burron.

Burials.

1642 June 5. Peter, son to Mr. Arthur Borron.

The Borrons of Warrington entered a pedigree in 1665, beginning with "Paul Burron of Rowleston, co. Stafford," whose son, "Arthur Burron of Warrington, ob: circa 1656," having with other issue, by his wife "Elizabeth, dau. of John Barnes of Warrington," Arthur Borron, son and heir, and Edward Borron (born 1637, died 1676). Pedigrees of this family will be found in Sir William Dugdale's *Visitation of Lancashire* (Chetham Society, vol. lxxxiv., page 65) and in Dr. Howard's *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, vol. i., N.S., page 354, where the account of the family is brought down to the present representative, who resides in Scotland. A younger branch of the family settled at Didsbury and Withington, near Manchester, and are now represented in one line by R. A. ffarington, Esq., of Wigan.*

O. THOMAS . CASSON . IN = An embattled bridge of five arches. ½

R. WARRINGTON . 1667 = HIS . HALFE . PENNY.

* This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. J. P. Rylands, F.S.A., Claughton, Birkenhead.

Thomas Casson appears in a list of benefactors to the Warrington Blue Coat School in 1680. He was buried at Warrington on the 19th of January, 1684-5.

O. =*John . Dichfield . his . Half . Penny.* ½
R. IN . WARRINGTON . 1669 = Arms in a shield; three boars passant.

O. SAMVELL . LEECH = Arms. ½
R. IN . WARRINGTON . 1666 = HIS . HALFE . PENNY . S . M . L.

Samuel Leech was a churchwarden in 1669. "Marie, daughter of Mr. Samuel Leech, woollen-draper," was buried at Warrington, 24th February, 1681-2. "Mrs. Mary Leech, wife to Mr. Samuel Leech, senior," was buried there 21st April, 1694. He was buried there 13th September, 1695. Mr. Samuel Leech's house was licensed in 1672 for a Presbyterian meeting place.*

O. WILLIAM . MORETON = A roll of cloth. ½
R. OF . WARRINGTON . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY . W . N . M.

Mrs. Marie Morton, widow, buried 18th December, 1696.

O. IANE . MVRRY & IO . PICKERING = THIRE . HALFE . PENY. ½
R. OF . WARRINGTON . 1668 = A pair of scales.

O. I . P = and T . B.
R. THEIR . HALF . PENY . 1667 = IN . WARRINGTON. ½

James Peake, woollen draper, was buried in 1676.

O. MATTHEW . PAGE . OF . WARRINGTON = A ship. 1
R. HIS . PENNY . 1672 = A dolphin.

Matthew Page was a churchwarden in 1676 and 1695.

O. THOMAS . PIGOTT . OF = The apothecaries' arms. ½
R. WARRINGTON . HIS . HAL . PENY = A pot of lilies.

O. WILLIAM . SCHOFIELD = W . A . S; and a sugar loaf. ½
R. OF . WARRINGTON . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. BRVEN . SIXSMITH = The drapers' arms. ½
R. OF . WARRINGTON . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY . B . E . S.

Bryan Sixsmith was a Quaker. In 1676 he issued a tract, "The Unskilful Skirmisher Rebuked for Blasphemy." In 1679, a quarto tract, "A testimony Concerning the Life and Death of William Sixsmith." His son Bryan Sixsmith

* This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. J. P. Earwaker.

died at Warrington on the 13th of the 10th month, 1679, and was buried at Penketh. The testimony is also printed in "Piety Promoted," by John Tomkins, London, 1759, page 109.

O. IERIMY . SMETHVRST = A man holding a spade. ½

R. IN . WARINGTON . 1669 = HIS . HALF . PENY . I . E . S.

Jeremiah Smethurst was a churchwarden in 1665 and 1679. Frances, his wife, was buried at Warrington, 16th August, 1684, and he was buried there 24th March, 1695-6.*

O. ELIZABETH . WOOLLEY = HER . HALF . PENY. ½

R. IN . WARRINGTON . 1667 = The Prince of Wales' crest.

O. RICHARD . WORRALL = A pot of lilies. ½

R. OF . WARRINGTON . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY . R . E . W.

O. THOMAS . WREXHAM = The grocers' arms. ½

R. IN . WARRINGTON . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY . T . M . W.

West Houghton.

O. AT . DASEY . HILLOCKE = H . D . M. ½

R. IN . WEST . HOVGHTON = 1652.

Whalley.

O. WILLIAM . CLAYTON . OF = A pair of hart's horns. ½

R. WHALEY . MARCER. 1667 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

In all probability the same person with one William Clayton, of Harwood Chapelry, which adjoins Whalley, who occurs in 1654. The Harwood Claytons, a rather numerous clan, were several of them chapmen at that period.†

O. WILLIAM . VARLEY = A heart pierced with two arrows. ½

R. IN . WHALLEY. 1671 = HIS ½.

Wigan.

O. GERARD . BANKES = Arms: quarterly, a fleur-de-lis. ½

R. IN . WIGAN . 1652 = Arms: three escalop shells.

The Bankes family were seated at Winstanley Hall. The arms of this family are: Sable, a plain cross or, between four fleur-de-lis argent and a canton of the second.

O. GILBERT . BARROW : OF = The apothecaries' arms. ½

R. WIGAN . HIS . HALF . PENY = G . E . B. 1669.

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* This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. J. P. Earwaker.

† This note has been kindly supplied by Mr. W. A. Abram.

O. THOMAS . COOPER = The crest of the Cooper family: A cock's head erased, from the mouth a forked tongue is issuing. ½

R. OF . WIGGAN . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. WILLIAM . LAITHWAITE = The armourers' arms. ½

R. = IN . WIGAN . HIS . HALF . PENNY . 1668.

[This token is octagonal in shape.]

O. ROBERT . MARKLAND = The grocers' arms.

R. OF . WIGG . . . . . 1655 = R . K . M.

O. MATHEW . MARKLAND = The tallow chandlers' arms. ¼

R. IN . WIGGON . 1664 = M . G . M.

O. MATHEW . MARKLAND . 1666 = The arms of the Markland family: a chevron between three martlets. ½

R. OF . WIGAN . HIS . HALF . PENY = The crest of the Markland family: a lion's head erased.

The Marklands were a well-known family at Wigan, and Ralph Markland, of Wigan Woodhouses, entered a pedigree of five generations at the Visitation of Lancashire in 1664. A John Markland, of Wigan, married, 19th July, 1712, Ellen Entwistle, of Wigan. He had a numerous family, many of whom resided in Manchester.

O. ROBERT . WINSTANLEY = The dove and olive branch. ¼

R. OF . WIGAN . 1652 = R . I . W.

CHESHIRE.

Audlem.

O. THOMAS . BATEMAN . OF = T . I . B . 1670. 1

R. AVDLEM . IN . CHESHEIRE = HIS . PENNY.

Bateman's will was proved in the Consistory Court, Chester, in May, 1683.

O. ROBERT . BIRCHALL . IN = R . B. 1

R. AVDLEM . IN . CHEASHEIR = HIS . PENNY . 1669.

Bramhall.

O. IOHN . BROWNE = HIS . HALF . PENY. ½

R. IN . BRAMHALL . 1669 = I . B.

John Browne died intestate; letters of administration were granted to his representatives at the Chester Wills Office in June, 1699.

Chester.

O. THOMAS . BAKER . POST = A lion rampant. ½

R. MASTER . OF . CHESTER = HIS . HALFE . PENY.

Thomas Baker was sheriff of Chester in 1676; he died the following year, and his will was proved at Chester.

O. NATH . BASSNET . 1668 . HIS = I^D 1

R. APOTHICARY . IN . CHESTER = A mortar and pestle.

Bassnet's will was proved in June, 1699. His name immediately follows that of John Browne, of Bramhall, just mentioned, in the Wills Index at the Chester Registry Office.

O. SARAH . BENNET . AT . Y^E 3 = Three tuns. ½

R. TVNNS . IN . CHESTER . 1668 = HER . HALF . PENY.

O. ROGER . BRERETON = The grocers' arms. ½

R. IN . CHESTER . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. RICHARD . BRISCOE = The royal oak crowned. 1

R. IN . CHESTER . 1670 = HIS . PENNY.

O. RALPH . BVRROVGHS = A crown. 1

R. OF . CHESTER . 1670 = R . B . I^D

Ralph Burroughs was sheriff of Chester in 1679, and died an alderman in 1687. His father, Randle Burrowes (or Burroughs), also served the office of sheriff in 1656.

O. WILLIAM . CRVE = (detrited). 1

R. IN . CHESTER . 1668 = HIS . PENNY.

O. ANNE . EARLE = HER . PENNY. 1

R. IN . CHESTER . 1668 = A . E . divided by a merchant's mark.

O. SAMVEL . ELCOCKE . IN = Arms of the Elcocke family; a saltire between four cocks. 1

R. CHESTER . HIS . PENY . 1669 = A phœnix in flames.

Samuel Elcocke was probably a younger son of Elcocke of Poole, whose arms are on the token. It was a common occurrence in those days for younger sons of the principal Cheshire families to settle in Chester as merchants and tradesmen. Samuel Elcocke's name appears on the roll for the collection of the poll tax in 1666.

O. ROBERT . FLETCHER . AT . Y^E = A crescent moon. 1

R. HALF . MOON . IN . CHESTER = HIS I^D

Robert Fletcher was sheriff of Chester in 1678, and died the following year. He was son of Alderman Robert Fletcher, whose signature appears to an order

of Assembly for providing all necessary fortifications at Chester prior to the celebrated siege of 1644-6. The Fletchers were connected with the municipality of Chester for more than three hundred years.

O. WILLIAM . HARVEY . AT . Y^{E}=An ostrich, with a horseshoe in its mouth. 1

R. STARR . IN . CHESTER . 69=A star I^{D}

William Harvey was mayor of Chester in 1678. His father, Robert Harvey, mayor in 1639, was one of the six gallant citizens who refused to sign the articles of surrender when the city capitulated to the Parliament, in 1646. He afterwards founded six almshouses in St. Olave's parish.

O. SAMVELL . HEATH . IN=S . H . 1670. 1

R. CHESTER . CONFECTIONER=HIS . PENY (heart-shape).

Samuel Heath was sworn in a member of the reorganised corporation of 1698. His will was proved at Chester in November, 1708.

O. AN . APOTHECARY=THOMAS . HEATH. 1

R. AT . CHESTER . 1667=HIS . PENNY.

Thomas Heath, probably father of the last named, was sheriff of Chester in 1650. His will was proved in November, 1690.

O. ROBERT . HEWITT=Arms of the city of Chester, three garbs. ½

R. HIS . HALF . PENY . 1667=The grocers' arms.

There is no mention of the place of issue on this token, but it has the arms of the city of Chester. Robert Hewitt was sheriff of Chester in 1682. He was assessed for the poll tax in 1666.

O. WILL . HEWITT . OF . CHESTER=A chevron between three owls:—crest, on a helmet, mantled, a bird [an owl?] ½

R. HIS . HALFE . PENNY . 1667=W . H.

O. RALPH . HOCKNELL . 1666=The ironmongers' arms. ½

R. IN . CHESTER . HIS . HALF . PENY=R . M . H.

Third son of John Hocknell (or Hockenhull), of Prenton, Cheshire, by his wife Dorothy, daughter of John Hancock, of Blacksley, co. Northampton. His will was proved at Chester in May, 1679.

O. IOHN . HOVGH . AT . THE=A swan. ½

R. OF . CHESTER . 1666=HIS . HALF . PENY.

It appears from the Wills Register at Chester that Hough's children were placed in ward at his death, and an allowance made for their tuition, in November, 1674.

O. IAMES . HVTCHINSON = Three doves (part of the tallow chandlers' arms). 1

R. OF . CHESTER . 1669 = I . H . I^{D}

The will of James Hutchinson, of Chester, ironmonger, was proved there in 1692.

O. IN . CHESTER . IN . NORTHGAT = NATHA^{N} IOLLIE HIS I^{D} 1

R. STREET . AT . Y^{E} . PHEASANT . 68 = A pheasant.

A younger son of Major James Jollie, of Droylesden, Lancashire. Nathan was brother in half-blood to Elizabeth Hall, afterwards the wife of Adam Martindale, the celebrated Nonconformist divine, whose life is printed in vol. iv. of the Chetham Society's publications. His will was proved at Chester, January, 1711.

O. CADWALADER . IONES . 1669 = I^{D} 1

R. IRONMONGER . IN . CHESTER = C . I.

O. IAMES . KNOWSLEY = Arms of the city of Chester; three garbs. ½

R. OF . CHESTER . 1667 = HIS . HALFE . PENNY.

Serjeant-at-Mace in the mayoralty of William Edwards in 1646. Letters of administration were granted for his effects in August, 1689. The mint mark on both sides of this token is an anchor.

O. PETER . LEE . OF . THE = A ram's head. ¼

R. CITTYE . OF . CHEST^{R} = P L conjoined.

Peter Lee, whose name is sometimes spelled Leigh, was a wealthy grocer and Mayor of Chester in 1656. He was fined £1,000 for visiting the celebrated William Prynne at his lodgings in Chester, Prynne being then on his way to Carnarvon.

O. THOMAS . MINSHVLL = HIS . PENNY. 1

R. IN . CHESTER . 1666 = T . M.

O. RICH . MYNSHALL = A star and crescent. ¼

R. OF . CHESTER = R . M.

O. LEWIS . PERRY = Two hands joined. 1

R. OF . CHESTER . 1669 = L . P . & I (for the value).

This name is unknown in the Chester annals, but in 1692 Hugh Perry, dyer, of Dublin, probably a brother of Lewis, died at Chester, and his will was proved there.

O. HIS . PENNY . 1668 . IN = ROBERT . RADFORD . R . M. 1

R. BRIDGE . STREETE . IN . CHESTER = Arms; fretty, a chief I^{D}

Robert Radford's will was proved in June, 1707.

O. SAM . RADFORD . IN . Y^E^ . BRIDGE = Crest, a demi-dragon, pierced with a lance. 1

R. STREETE . IN . CHESTER . 1668 = HIS . PENNY . S . R.

Brother of Robert Radford. A son of one of these Radfords married a sister of the renowned Matthew Henry.

O. ROB . RIDGE . IN . CHESTER = A ship. ½

R. HIS . HALFE . PENNY . 1666 = R . F . R.

Jonathan Ridge, Alderman of Chester, was member for the city in 1659, the last year of the Commonwealth.

O. THOMAS . ROBINSON = An anchor dividing T . R. 1

R. OF . CHESTER . 1669 = HIS . PENNY.

O. IOHN . SALMON . OF . CHESTER = Arms, three fishes hauriant, a crescent for a difference, impaling a double-headed eagle displayed within a border. 1

R. HIS . PENNY . 1667 = The haberdashers' arms.

Sir William Dugdale, in his diary, November 3rd, 1668, has this minute: "John Salmon, of Chester, maketh brass pence with armes upon them (three salmons) to disclayme him." Salmon's will was proved in February, 1687.

O. THOMAS . SIMPSON = Arms of the city of Chester; three garbs dimidiated, impaling three lions passant gardant. ½

R. OF . CHESTER . 1667 . HIS . HALFE . PENNY. (Mint mark on both sides, an anchor.)

Thomas Simpson was sheriff of Chester in 1669, and mayor in 1673. Bishop Cartwright dined with him at his house, in company with Baron Jenner, August 3rd, 1687. Simpson, during his mayoralty, rebuilt a portion of the present walls of Chester.

O. WILLIAM . SNEAD = A snead. 1

R. OF . CHESTER . 1668 = HIS . PENNY . W . S.

O. PETER . STRINGER = Arms of the Stringer family; per chevron, in chief two eagles displayed, in base a fleur-de-lys. 1

R. OF . CHESTER . 1667 = HIS . PENNY

Peter Stringer married Alice, daughter of Randal Holmes, the celebrated Cheshire antiquary, and died in 1704. The Stringers were long and honourably connected with the city.

O. IOHN . TRAVERS = Arms of the Travers family; a chevron between three boars' heads, a mullet on the chevron for a difference. ½

R. IN . CHESTER . 1663 = I . T.

Bishop Cartwright records in his diary, March, 1687, that he "supped with Col. Roger Whitley (a celebrated Cheshire Royalist), Mr. Travers being one of the party."

O. HENRY . WILLIAMS = The ironmongers' arms. 1

R. IN CHESTER . 1667 = HIS 1D.

O. HENRY . WILLIAMS = The ironmongers' arms. 1

R. IN . CHESTER = 1D.

O. LEWIS . WILLIAMS = HIS . HALF . PENY. ½

R. IN . CHESTER . 1667 = L . W.

Randal Holmes dedicated the ninth chapter of his *Academy of Armory*, book i., to Lewis Williams and Robert Fletcher, previously mentioned. From this curious heraldic work we learn that they both resided in Bridge Street, Chester, and were members of the Common Council.

Congleton.

O. RICHARD . COTTON = Arms of the Cotton family; a chevron, between three cotton hanks, a crescent for a difference. ½

R. OF . CONGLETON . 1667 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Mr. Cotton was a justice of the peace for Congleton in 1669, and mayor of the borough in 1671. He was probably a grandson of Edward Cotton, Esq., of Cotton, co. Chester.

O. RICHARD . EATON = The grocers' arms. ½

R. IN . CONGLETON . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. IOHN . GLOVER . 1667 [in three lines]. ½

R. IN . CONGLETON = HIS . HALF . PENY . I . G.

O. THOMAS . WELCH = The feltmakers' arms. ½

R. IN . CONLETON = T . A . W.

O. THOMAS . WELSH . 1666 = The feltmakers' arms. ½

R. IN . CONGLETON = HIS . HALF . PENY.

Welch's will was administered at the Chester Wills Court in June, 1700.

Knutsford.

O. PHILLIP . ANTROBVS = The mercers' arms. ½

R. IN . KNVTSFORD . 1671 = A . HALF . PENY . TOKEN

Philip Antrobus was a freeholder in Aston, Cheshire, in 1662. The Antrobus family is one of great antiquity in the county of Chester.

O. IAMES . IOHNSON = The grocers' arms (octagonal). ½
R. IN . KNVTSFORD . HIS . HALF . PENNY . 1668 [in six lines].

O. RICHARD . LEIGH . OF = A lion rampant. ½
R. KNUTSFORD . MERCER = R . C . L.

O. JAMES . SWINTON . IN . KNVTSFORD [in four lines] (octagonal). ½
R. HIS . HALFE . PENNY . 1667 [in four lines].

James Swinton's will was proved in February, 1670.

Macclesfield.

O. SAM . ENDON . IN . MACKLESFEILD = HIS . HALF . PENY . 1671. ½
R. WELCOM . YOV . BE . TO . TRADE . W^TH . ME = A man smoking between a roll of tobacco and pair of scales.

Endon's will was registered at Chester, September, 1679.

O. SAMVEL . LEAH.
R. OF . MACKLESFILD = S . I . L.

Samuel Leah was an alderman and one of the original capital burgesses of Macclesfield, and named as such in the charter of Charles II. to that borough in 1685. He died about three years after that event.

O. NATHANIELL . POOLE . 1668 = The mercers' arms [heart shape]. ½
R. N . P . MACCLESFIELD . ½^D [in four lines].

N. Poole's will was proved at Chester in 1672.

O. FRANCIS . SWINDELL . OF . MACKELSFEILD . HIS . HALFE . PENNY [in six lines]. ½
R. SQVARE . DEALINGE . IS . BEST . 1669 [in four lines]. (This token is square).

O. IOHN . TOWERTON = A black boy smoking, with a roll of tobacco under his arm. ¼
R. MACKLESFILD = I . T.

O. EDWARD . WOOD . MERCER . IN = HIS . HALF . PENY. ½
R. MACKSFIELD . IN . CHESSHEIR = The mercers' arms.

Edward Wood died intestate in 1678-9.

Middlewich.

O. NATHENEL . BEARD . CHANDLER = HIS . HALF . PENY. ½

R. OF . MIDELWICH . IN . CHESHER = A pair of scales.

O. THOMAS . COTTON . OF . MIDDLEWICH . HIS . HALF . PENY [in six lines]. ½

R. ALTHOVGH . BVT . BRASS . YET . LET . ME . PASS . 1669 [in five lines] (heart-shape).

In 1674, Thomas Cotton, mercer, was one of the capital burgesses of Congleton, probably brother of Richard Cotton, who issued a token at Congleton.

Nantwich.

O. RICHARD . BICKERTON . IN NAMPTWICH [in four lines]. ½

R. HIS . HALF . PENY . R . B . 1666 [in four lines].

He was a brewer by trade, and died in 1669.

O. GEORGE . B . . . . = The mercers' arms.

R. IN . NAMPTWICHE . . . . . = G . B . I . E.

O. THOMAS . BROMHALL . IN . NAMPTWICH [in four lines]. ½

R. HIS . HALFE . PENY . 1665 . T . E . B. [in four lines].

Thomas Bromhall, mercer, according to a rate book for 1691, appears to have lived at the corner of High Town, where Hospital Street and Pillory Street diverge, at that time called "Pye Corner." Thomas Bromhall was buried on 31st January, 1701.*

O. William . Cappur . his . halfe . Penny [in four lines]. ½

R. IN . NAMPTWICH . 1666 = A ship.

Probably William Cappur kept the Ship Inn. The following entries relating to the family are in the parish registers:—

"1726 Aug. 4 Jacob son of Ralph Cappur Inholder [baptd.].

"1753 Sep. 16 James, son of Ralph Cappur, Cheesefactor [baptd.].

"1780 Aug. 17 George Cappur, Cheesefactor, and Lydia Maddocks [married] by licence.

"1785 Nov. 27 George, son of George Cappur, Cheesefactor and Lydia his wife [baptd.].

"1790 Oct. 19 Ralph son of George Cappur Cheesefactor and Lydia his wife, born."*

O. William . Crossley . his . halfe . Penny [in four lines]. ½

R. IN . NAMPTWICH - 1666 = A ship.

O. DANIELL . IACKSON = The mercers' arms (octagonal). 1

R. IN . NAMPTWICH = HIS . 1ᴰ 1669.

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* These notes have been kindly supplied by Mr. James Hall, Willaston.

O. THOMAS . IACKSON. = The ironmongers' arms. ½

R. IN . NAMPTWITCH . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. ELIZABETH . PRICE . IN = Arms of the Price family; a chevron embattled between three spear-heads. ½

R. NAMPTWICH . 1666 = HER . HALF . PENY.

The Prices had been resident in the town for at least a century previous to 1666. Mrs. Elizabeth Price, the last of the family, was buried at Nantwich, on the 27th February, 1691-2.*

O. IOHN . TENCH . 1666 = I . M . T. ½

R. IN . NAMPTWICH = HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. IOHN . TENCH . IN = The mercers' arms. ½

R. IN . NAMPTWICH . 1665 = I . M . T.

John Tench was a tanner; he married "Mrs. Mary Demock, after publication three several markett days in Namptwich markett," on the 6th of March, 1653-4; and was buried at Nantwich on the 14th November, 1675.

The Tench family had been respectable residents in Nantwich as early as 1545, and occur in the parish registers as "dyers," "tanners," "mercers," "gentlemen," &c. The last mentions of the family as follows:—

"John Tench attorney buried in the church 5th Feb. 1756.".

"Miss Mary Tench [buried] 2 Dec. 1780."

"Thomas Tench [buried] 5 May 1783."*

O. IAMES . WILSON . 1666 = HIS . HALF . PENY. ½

R. IN . NAMPTWICH = I . A . W.

James Wilson, silk stocking weaver, was buried on the 19th December, 1699.*

Sandbach.

O. IONAH . BOWYER. ½

R. OF . SANDBACH . 1667. = HIS . HALFE . PENY.

This token, and the one of Samuel Leah, of Macclesfield, are copied from Ormerod's *Cheshire*. Letters of administration were granted for Jonah Bowyer's effects after his decease in 1700.

Stockport.

O. HENRY . ANDERVE = HIS . HALF . PENY. ½

R. IN . STOCKPORT = H . M . A . 1667.

O. IOHN . ANDREWS . IN = The grocers' arms. I . E . A. ½

R. STOCKPORT . HIS . HALF . PENY = Arms of the city of London.

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* These notes have been kindly supplied by Mr. James Hall, Willaston, near Nantwich.

O. IOHN . BROOK . 1670=HIS . HALF . PENY. ½
R. NEERE . STOCKPORT=I . B.

O. WALTER . COATES=A horse caparisoned. ½
R. IN . STOCKPORT . 1667=HIS . HALF . PENY.

O. IOHN . HVLME . IN=HIS . HALF . PENY. ½
R. IN . STOCKPORT . 1666=I . H.

O. FRANCIS . NEWTON=HIS . HALFE . PENY. ½
R. IN . STOCKPORT . 1669=F . E . N.

Francis Newton's will was proved in 1674, at Manchester, then, and until the present half-century, a suffragan office to the Chester Wills Court.

O. MARGARET . NICHOLSON=The mercers' arms. ½
R. OF . STOCKPORT . 1667=HER . HALF . PENY.

O. RALPH . AND . ELIZ . NICHOLSON=The mercers' arms. ½
R. OF . STOCKPORT . 1667=THEIR . HALFE . PENY.

The Nicholson family were intimately connected with Stockport and its vicinity for a long series of years.

O. THOMAS . SMITH=HIS . HALFE . PENNY. ½
R. IN . STOCKPORT . 1666=T . I . S.

The will of Thomas Smith was registered at Chester in 1682.

INDEX TO LANCASHIRE ISSUERS' NAMES.

John Abraham, Manchester.
Joshua Abraham, Warrington.
Thomas Alcocke, Crosby.
Peter Atherton, Liverpool.
Thomas Allanson, Chorley.
Arthur Ashton, Clitheroe.
Gerard Bankes, Wigan.
George Bardslaye, Ashton.
Henry Barlow, Manchester.
Gilbert Barrow, Wigan.
George Bennett, Liverpool.
John Berry, Ormskirk.
John Blakey, Colne.
James Bolton, Blackburn.
Joseph Bolton, Preston.
W. A. B., Halliwell.
William Boardman, Halliwell.
George Booth, Manchester.
Edward Borron, Warrington.
William Bowker, Manchester.
James Brindle, Blackburn.
Andrew Bury, Manchester.
John Butterworth, Rochdale.
Jonathan Butterworth, Ashton.
John Cadman, Preston.
Thomas Casson, Warrington.
John Charleton, Manchester.
James Cheetham, Shaw.
Charles Christian, Liverpool.
William Clayton, Whalley.
Hugh Cooper, Chorley.
Thomas Cooper, Wigan.
John Crampton, Lancaster.
Joshua Crosbie, Ormskirk.
Thomas Crosbie, Ormskirk.
Addam Crumpton, Liverpool.

Richard Crumpton, Liverpool.
Thomas Cuttler, Clitheroe.
Mary Davis, Kirkham.
Mathew Deane, Prescot.
John Dent, Kirby.
Rob. Dicconson, Chorley.
John Dichfield, Warrington.
John Doson, Heaton.
William Dweryhowse, Liverpool.
Mary Earle, Rysley.
Jonathan Eaton, Manchester.
James Farrar, Ormskirk.
Richard Fen, Cheetham.
Roger Gorsuch, Liverpool.
Thomas Greene, Lancaster.
John Greenwood, Lancaster.
John Goulding, Ashton.
Ralph Hall, Liverpool.
James Hamar, Rochdale.
James Hardgreaves, Haslingden.
Richard Haworth, Blackburn.
Roger Haydock and John Ravald, Preston.
William Haydock, Ormskirk.
Richard Hewood, Little Lever.
John and Mary Heywood, Ashton.
Richard Higson, Leigh.
John Hodgson, Lancaster.
Thomas Hodgson, Huyton.
Richard Hunt, Manchester.
Ambrose Jackson, Ormskirk.
William Jackson, Holland.
Thomas Johnson, Liverpool.
John Kellet, Thomas Woley, Preston.
Richard Kenion, Rochdale.
William Laithwaite, Wigan.
Will Lancaster, Garstang.
John Lawson, Lancaster.
Samuell Leech, Warrington.
John Lord, Haslingden.
H. D. M., West Houghton.
Mathew Markland, Wigan.
Robert Markland, Wigan.
Robert Martlers, Rochdale.
John Mashter, Lancaster.
Richard Milne, Rochdale.
James Mollinex, Bolton.
William Moreton, Warrington.
Robert Moss, Bolton.
Isaac Mosse, Manchester.
Jane Murray & Jo. Pickering, Warrington.
John Neild, Manchester.
Robert Norris, Bolton.
Christopher Nowell, Preston.
Lawrence Nuttall, Oldham.
Emary Oldfeild, Manchester.
I. P. and T. B., Warrington.
Matthew Page, Warrington.
John Pemberton, Liverpool.
Thomas Piggott, Warrington.
Thomas Podmore, Manchester.
William Prockter, Lancaster.
Samuel Rathbone, Liverpool.
Mary Roberts, Bolton.
Edmund Robinson, Clitheroe.
Charles Rodyers, Leigh.
John Rylands, Manchester.
John and Martha Rylands, Manchester.
William Schofield, Warrington.
James Scholes, Chadderton.
John Shield, Preston.
Bruen Sixsmith, Warrington.
William Smallshawe, Bolton.
Jeremy Smethurst, Warrington.
James Smith, Poulton.
Josua Strengfellow, Rochdale.
Richard Sumpner, Preston.
Rich. and John Sumpner, Preston.
W. A. W., Turton.
Robert Tallbott, Clitheroe.
Tarleton town, Tarleton.
Nicholas Tokin, Halton.
John Townley, Clitheroe.
Lawrence Townley, Burnley.
Adam Twaite, Chowbent.
William Varley, Whalley.
Joseph Vigor, Manchester.
Benjamin Walker, Ashton.
John Wall, Prescot.
Samuel Waringe, Bury.

Thomas Wasley, Chorley.
Anthony Wells, Blackburn.
Edward Williamson, Liverpool.
William Williamson, Newton.
Jeffery Willison, Newton.
Samuell Winter, Manchester.
Robert Winstanley, Wigan.
James Wolstenholme, Chorley.
Jefrey Woods, Kirkham.
Elizabeth Woolley, Warrington.
Richard Worrall, Warrington.
Thomas Wrexham, Warrington.

INDEX TO CHESHIRE ISSUERS' NAMES.

Henry Anderne, Stockport.
John Andrews, Stockport.
Phillip Antrobus, Knutsford.
George B—, Nantwich.
Thomas Baker, Chester.
Nath. Bassnet, Chester.
Thomas Bateman, Audlem.
Nathenel Beard, Middlewich.
Sarah Bennett, Chester.
Richard Bickerton, Nantwich.
Robert Birchall, Audlem.
Jonah Bowyer, Sandbach.
Roger Brereton, Chester.
Richard Briscoe, Chester.
Thomas Bromhall, Nantwich.
John Brook, Stockport.
John Browne, Bramhall.
Ralph Burroughs, Chester.
William Cappur, Nantwich.
Walter Coates, Stockport.
Richard Cotton, Congleton.
Thomas Cotton, Middlewich.
William Crossley, Nantwich.
William Crue, Chester.
Ann Earle, Chester.
Richard Eaton, Congleton.
Samuel Elcocke, Chester.
Sam. Endon, Macklesfield.
Robert Fletcher, Chester.
John Glover, Congleton.
William Harvey, Chester.
Samuel Heath, Chester.
Thomas Heath, Chester.
Robert Hewitt, Chester.
Will. Hewitt, Chester.
Ralph Hocknell, Chester.
John Hough, Chester.
John Hulme, Stockport.
James Hutchinson, Chester.
James Johnson, Knutsford.
Daniell Jackson, Nantwich.
Thomas Jackson, Nantwich.
Nathan Jollie, Chester.
Cadwalader Jones, Chester.
James Knowsley, Chester.
Samuel Leah, Macklesfield.
Peter Lee, Chester.
Richard Leigh, Knutsford.
Thomas Minshull, Chester.
Rich. Mynshall, Chester.
Francis Newton, Stockport.
Margaret Nicholson, Stockport.
Ralph and Eliz. Nicholson, Stockport.
Lewis Perry, Chester.
Nathaniell Poole, Macclesfield
Elizabeth Price, Nantwich.
Robert Radford, Chester.
Sam. Radford, Chester.
Rob. Ridge, Chester.
Thomas Robinson, Chester.
John Salmon, Chester.
Thomas Simpson, Chester.
Thomas Smith, Stockport.
William Snead, Chester.
Peter Stringer, Chester.
Francis Swindell, Macklesfield.
James Swinton, Knutsford.
John Tench, Nantwich.
John Towerton, Macklesfield.
John Travers, Chester.
Thomas Welch, Congleton.
Thomas Welsh, Congleton.
Henry Williams, Chester.
Lewis Williams, Chester.
James Wilson, Nantwich.
Edward Wood, Macklesfield.

QUAKER LANCASHIRE LITERATURE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LIEUT.-COL. HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A.

IN the winter of 1652, George Fox made his first visit to Swarthmoor Hall, where he was entertained by the young wife of Judge Fell, who became a convert to the new religion, which soon obtained a firm footing in this northern part of the county.

The sympathy shown to the new sect by the people of Furness and Lonsdale was doubtless increased by the fact that Lancaster Castle was the scene of much of the cruel persecution which was raised against the "children of the light," who were afterwards, in derision, called "Quakers."

It is not my purpose in this paper to supply a bibliographical account of the Quaker literature of this period, but rather to bring forward a few extracts from such pamphlets as I have at hand, to illustrate the character of some of the works which were printed by the Quakers themselves and by their opponents.

The books written by the founder of the Society of Friends (George Fox), although some of them refer to Lancashire, I pass over, as being familiar to all.

Margaret Fell, who (after the death of her first husband, Judge Fell) married George Fox, was rather a voluminous

writer; one of her treatises is entitled "Women's speaking justified, proved, and allowed of by the Scriptures, all such as speak by the spirit and power of the Lord Jesus; and how women were the first that preached the Tidings of the resurrection of Jesus, and were sent by Christ's own command before He ascended to the Father." This was printed in 1666, and consists of a long array of arguments supported by texts of scripture in support of the hypothesis laid down; the final clause asserts that the pope is the head of the false church, and that the false church is the pope's wife; and appeals to those who deny women's right to speak in these words: "Doth the church only consist of men? doth it not consist of women as well as men? Is not the Bride compared to the whole church; and doth not the Bride say come? Doth not the woman speak then? The Husband Jesus Christ the Amen; and doth not the false church go about to stop the Bride's mouth? But it is not possible, for the Bridegroom is with his bride, and he opens her mouth."

Another scarce tract by the same writer is "A Declaration and an Information from us the People of God called Quakers to the present Governors the King, and both houses of Parliament." This was delivered into the king's hands on the "22 day of the fourth moneth" (1660). Its author says she "was moved of the Lord to leave her house and family and to come two hundred miles to lay these things" before the king.

Leonard Fell was the son of Thomas Fell, gentleman, of Beckliff, near Swarthmoor, and is believed to have been a relation of Judge Fell, in whose house he for some years lived. He was a minister of the Society of Friends for nearly half a century. He was the author of "An Epistle for the strengthening and confirming of Friends in their most Holy Faith" (1670). In this pamphlet he states that the informers against "Friends" in the north part of the

nation are "either Highwaymen, or such as have been arraigned for Fellony, or are come out of Gaols, or idle Fellows that have spent their estates if they had any." Probably there was at least some foundation for this statement.

One of the household of Judge Fell, at Swarthmoor, was William Caton (probably a connection of the family), who appears to have been educated with the judge's son, and afterwards acted as secretary to his wife. Having embraced the new religion, he became one of the first Quaker missionaries to Holland, where he died in 1665. He was many times in English prisons, and was the writer of a large number of Quaker tracts in Dutch and English, not many of which, however, can be included in the Lancashire list. One of them, the title of which may be epitomised* as "Truths Character of Professors and their Teachers," contains addresses to Richard Cromwell for the priests and others of Lancaster, Liverpool, Preston, and Wigan. The author styles himself "One that is appointed of the Lord to make war in Righteousness under the banner of the Lamb in the Truths behalf both against the Beast and the false Prophet, known unto men by the name of William Caton." Truly the character which he gives to the priest is a sorry one indeed. He says: "When they were once setled in their livings and got the name of parliament ministers . . . they began to insult over many of their parishioners and proved deceitfull and treacherous to many of them whose tythe of corn, hay, wool, lamb, hemp, geese, eggs, pigs, apples, cheries and turnups &c. were covetid and received and when they had gotten them of poor men they refused to do those things which they were to do and so the poor men have been constrained to hire others to do that which

* Title consists of nearly two hundred words.

they judged their Priests should have done for them as baptised their Infants, churched their Wives and have administered that they call the Lord's supper . . . and if they desired to have a Funeral Sermon at their burial, these Priests would not give it them under ten shillings at the least." As this pamphlet was published in 1660, no doubt the clergy particularly alluded to were those who had been appointed by the Parliament. .

The "Journal of the Life" of William Caton was edited by George Fox, and published in 1689, and is a curious morsel of Quaker literature.

It is not to be wondered at that many of the pamphlets of this time should consist of narratives of the lives, sufferings, and deaths of members of this persecuted sect. Of this class were the following:—"A serious remembrancer to live well, &c.; confessions and remarks on the death of Jonah Lawson who finished his course upon earth the 22 day of the month called February, 1683, in the 14th year of his age" [London, 1684]. The father of this young Quaker was the Rev. Thomas Lawson, curate of Rampside, in Dalton-in-Furness, who himself afterwards joined the Society of Friends. "The Life and Death, Travels, and Sufferings of Robert Widders [of Kellet] who was one of the Lord's worthies, together with several testimonies of his neighbours and friends concerning him" [London, 1688]. "A short relation concerning the Life and Death of that man of God, and faithful minister of Jesus Christ, William Simpson. Who laid down his body in the Island of Barbadoes, the 8th day of the 12th month 1670" [no place nor printer's name, 1671].

From this pamphlet (which is a very rare one) it appears that Simpson was a native of Lancashire, and that before he went to Barbadoes he had been frequently in gaols and had suffered much persecution. He had a singular way of

illustrating what he taught; for example, he declared that the Church of England was soon to be spiritually naked, and her priests stripped of their benefices; and to show what he meant, he took off his own clothes and "stark naked" went through "markets to priests' houses and to great men's houses and Magistrates houses and to Cambridge where the Mayor put his gown about him."

It is hardly to be wondered at that during his travels he should "many times receive many stripes upon his naked body with thorn bushes so that his friends were forst [*sic*] to pluck the thorns out of his flesh." To the Church of England he writes: "Oh howl and weep! your day is far spent, night is coming upon you that you shall not have a vision, nothing shall be left to cover you; as naked shall you be spiritually as my body hath been in many places in England as a sign of the nakedness and shame that is coming upon the Church of England who liveth in oppression and cruelty. . . . As a troop of Robbers lye in wait for a man so a company of priests by consent lye in wait to murder the innocent Lambs of God."

It is well known that many Quakers were at various times imprisoned in Lancaster Castle, and several tracts were written there, one of them being entitled "Antichrist's strongest Hold overturned: or, the Foundation of the Religion of the people called Quakers, bared and razed, in a debate had with some of them in the Castle of Lancaster, and in an additional account of the Light within" [London, 1665]. This was written by John Wigan, a Baptist, in Lancashire. In his advertisement to his pamphlet he addresses himself to the "followers of the Lamb in and about Manchester, Warrington, and Lancaster." At this time he was a prisoner in Lancaster Castle. His charges against the Quakers are of the most sweeping character. He undertakes to show that—

"i. Their first principle is a lye.
"ii. That their Christ is not the true Jesus.
"iii. That their idolatry is worse and more dangerous then [*sic*] Jeroboam's or the Papists.
"iv. That their principle denies the great mystery of godliness, departs from the Faith, and leads to give attendance to the doctrine of Dæmons."

Notwithstanding his apparent bitterness against the sect, he appears to fully sympathise with their troubles, and expresses a doubt that the laws made against them "will not have any better success than the persecutors of the Innocent in all ages have had;" indeed, he says he delayed the issue of his pamphlet for a time thinking "that it was not a season to print against this people being great sufferers, lest it should adde affliction to their bonds." The debate, it appears, took place in the prison; amongst those taking part in it were George Fox and Margaret Fell, both of whom, the writer says, were "so obstreperous" as almost to prevent his speaking.

If the testimony of this Baptist is to be believed, the "Friends" in the castle had not learned to practice that humility of speech which subsequently distinguished the sect. He was told by Margaret Fell that "thou begins with a lye and ends with the devil and sets John Wigan next to him as if thou wast his head vice-gerent." She also added that "thou tellest lyes which thou hatcheth out of darkness. Thou are a meer sot and ignoramus." And on his asking "What parish priest in England had got more money with his tongue than George Fox since he was a journeyman shoomaker in Manchester," she replied, "Thou art a wicked ungodly impudent lyar . . . The Devil the God of this world is thy God." Another wrote to him, "We see thou hast Ishmael's bow and Cain's club, and Esau's sword and the clusters of Sodom and the grapes of Gomorrha and

Babylon's confusion and the Egyptian's tongue and by thy side carries Judas bag and wearest the livery of Antichrist and art shod with deceit . . . thou art more like an oyster woman, it is like thou knowest Billings-gate, thou art better selling oysters then [*sic*] doctrine or preaching either." Taking it altogether the prisoners must have had a lively time of it; and it is not to be wondered at that, on more than one occasion, the gaolers prevented them holding their meetings.

Another Lancashire author was Richard Hubberthorn, who was born in Yealand, in the parish of Warton, and died in prison, in Newgate, in 1662. He published a pamphlet containing an account of what took place during an interview which he had with the king.* The subject of tithes was the burden of many of the early Friends' treatises; and, considering the harsh measures at the time resorted to in order to compel payment of what was thought to be an unrighteous claim, this is not to be wondered at.

Francis Patchet, of Scotforth, in the parish of Lancaster, died in the Fleet, in 1677, where he was imprisoned for non-payment of tithes. After his death was published "Living words through a Dying man; being a melodious Song of the mercies and judgments of the Lord, sung by a Disciple of Christ on his dying bed, when the pangs of death were upon his outward man. By one who died a Prisoner for the Testimony of Jesus, Francis Patchet" [London, 1678].

Thomas Atkinson published, in 1678, "The Christian's Testimony against Tythes in an account of the great spoil and rapine committed by the Bishop of Chester's Tythe Farmer, at Cartmell, in Lancashire, upon the people there called Quakers in the years 1677 and 1678." He also

* Something that lately passed in Discourse between the King and R. H., &c. London, 1660.

wrote "Divers Queries of great importance propounded by Thomas Atkinson of Cartmall in Lancashire, to Gabriel Camelford, Parson of Stafley Chapel, with his answers to them. Also replies to the answers wherein is lay'd open the subtilty and deceit of the Priest, and his Inventions, Snares and Baits." Gabriel Camelford, curate of Staveley in Cartmel, was a Puritan divine, and was ejected in 1662.

The early days of Quakerism is not a soil one would have thought likely to foster the poetic muse, yet we have at least one example that the poet's inspiration was not to be repressed. Mary Southworth, who married Henry Mollineux, of Liverpool, not only wrote a poem whilst a prisoner in Lancaster Castle, but produced a volume of *Miscellaneous Poems, Moral and Divine*, which were published by her husband after her death, and which ran through six editions* in England and at least one in America.

Her husband, in 1695, published a book entitled "Antichrist Unvailed by the Finger of God's Power," which consisted of two hundred and seventy-six pages of as dry reading as could well be put into print; and if the people of that day read it, they must have either had a very strong hatred to popery or have been endowed with an almost supernatural patience.

To the Rev. William Brownsword, M.A., sometime curate at Douglas Chapel, in Eccleston, must be credited the "clear discovery" that the doctrines of the Quakers were "fetch'd out of the Council of Trent, Belarmine, and others;" and that their practices were "fetcht out of the Rules and Practises of Popish monks."† Mr. Brownsword considered himself an authority on the popery question; he was the

* She died in 1695.

† Pamphlet entitled "The Quaker-Jesuite; or, Popery in Quakerisme, &c." London, 1660.

author of a work entitled "Rome's Conviction; or, a Discoverie of the Unsoundness of the main grounds of Rome's Religion, &c." [London, 1654].

Another work against the Quakers was written by the Rey. Richard Sherlock, D.D., who was successively curate of Borwick Chapel in the parish of Warton, chaplain to Charles, Earl of Derby, and rector of Winwick. The book was entitled "The Quakers wilde questions objected against the Ministers of the Gospel, and many sacred acts and offices of Religion. With brief answers thereunto. All very seasonable for these times" [London, 1656]. The epistle dedicatory is addressed to Sir Robert Bindlosse, Bart., of Borwick Hall, and in it the author bitterly complains that "licentiousness of opinion hath got footing: everyone taking liberty to believe and disbelieve what he list, to be of this of that and of every opinion but what is orthodox and true; and under the cloke of religion wounding and even stabbing to the heart that sacred body [the Church] through its own bleeding sides;" and that there were not a few who called "learning a mark of the beast, and lawful ordination to the ministry a badge of Antichrist." He then proceeds to suggest a remedy. To this end he writes, "There are but two waies for the suppression of these heretiques who stop their ears and harden their hearts against the doctrine and instruction of the Church. (1) A well-established Ecclesiastical Government [he was writing in 1656] by whose coercive Laws the people may be kept within the limits of the true faith as to the outward profession thereof in themselves and debarred the seduction of others; (2) an exemplary piety in the profession of the Truth that others may be won by their good conversation to the acknowledgment of the truth." He then wisely remarks that as "The arm of the Ecclesiastical Government is broken and the hedge of God's inclosed Garden thrown down which should have

kept out the Foxes from eating the Vines: there is no way left us . . . but to adorn our profession with holiness of conversation and carefully to avoid all those disorderly and licentious manners which scandalize our Religion." In short, the learned divine advises that as they could not obtain what they desired by sheer force, they should try to compass the same end by setting an example of a godly life and fellowship, but it does not appear to have occurred to him how different would have been the result had the "exemplary piety" process been tried before having resort to cruel persecution and hunting to death of those who only asked permission to worship in their own way the Master he professed to serve. Some of the "wild questions" are amusing, if they are not edifying. For example: Question 21. "Whether ever Christ and his apostles received 160 or 200 pounds a year for preaching the gospel?" the reply being "Christ himself when he preached the gospel was maintained by the gifts and benevolence of his auditors: who ministred unto him of their substance: and the apostles had more then £100 or £200 a year: for many of their converts sold all their estates and brought it and laid it down at the apostles' feet."

Question 23. "What Scripture is there to have a clark to say Amen and to have groats a piece of the world for his trade?" This the reverend doctor meets by saying, "I may rather demand of you why do not rather all the people say Amen;" and as for the payment he conceives it "not to be so much for saying Amen as for many other offices wherein he is usefull both to the Pastor and the people."

Question 24. "What Scripture is there for taking money for burying the dead; or to have ten or twelve shillings for preaching a funeral Sermon; or to take money for marrying man or woman?" The answer to this is that "the labourer is worthy of his wages;" and as to "wages for parti-

cular pains and labours in this or that ministerial function whether more or lesse is not of our choosing; but partly the liberality of Founders and Benefactors, partly custome amongst all people in all Christian countries hath settled it."

To this attack, Richard Hubberthorn printed what he called "A reply to a book set forth by one of the blind guides of England, who is a Priest at Barwick Hall in Lancashire, who writes his name R. Sherlock, Batchelor of Divinity, but he is proved to be a diviner and a deceiver of the people, &c."

Although I have only just as it were skimmed the subject which I undertook to bring before the Society, yet I hope I have gone deep enough to demonstrate that this somewhat neglected bit of Lancashire literature contains much to interest and amuse, and if carefully studied will contribute its quota towards the history of the manners and religious sentiments of the Lancashire people in the seventeenth century.

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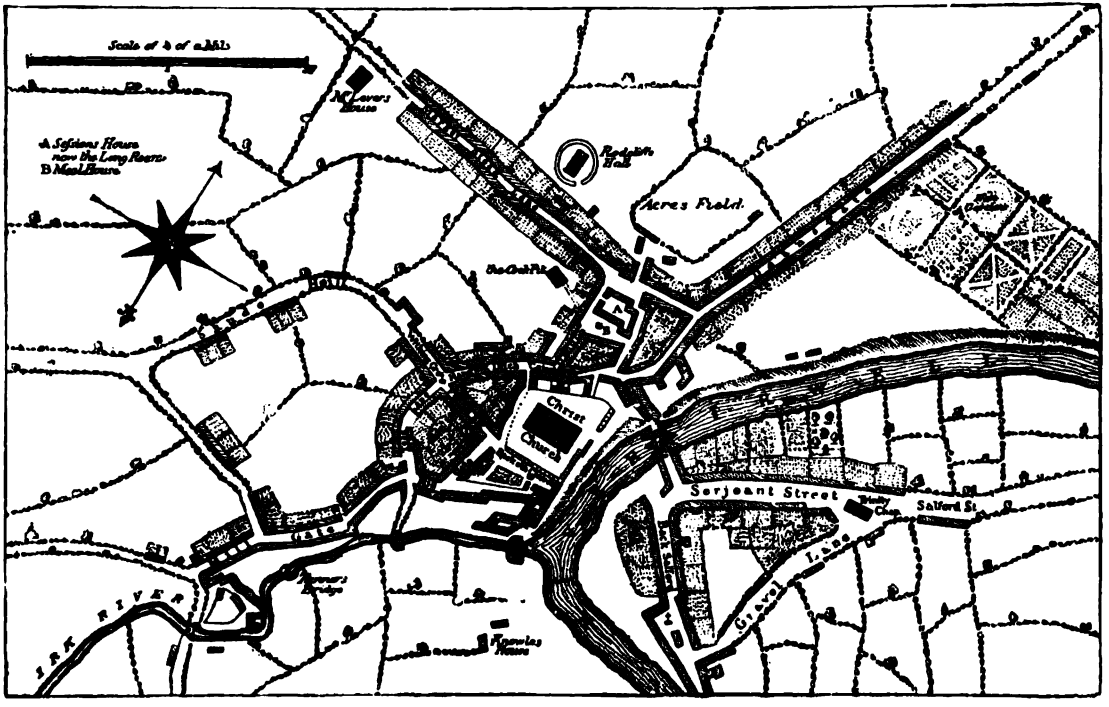

MAP OF OLD MANCHESTER—1650.

FOLK-MOOTS OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

BY HENRY THOMAS CROFTON.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the last volume (vol. iv., pp. 61-79) of the proceedings of this Society is a very interesting paper by Mr. Tallent-Bateman on the "Ancient Lancashire and Cheshire Local Courts," in which he remarks that "many of our local civil courts date from Saxon times, and others dating from a later period were formed on the laws of the Saxon system of judicature, which was based on the division of land. In the thaneland the thane himself was the judge: so the judge of the reve-land was the reve or shire-reve (hence *sheriff*), whose great court was called the *reve-mote* or *shire-mote*. There was a lower court than this (the *folc-mote*), but," he adds, "as it has not survived to us I need not describe its constitution or practice."

The object of this present paper is to describe this extinct court, and trace some of the indications of its previous existence in our two counties palatine.

The theory of folk-moots in England may be stated as ollows:—In the days of "once upon a time" (before the Romans invaded England), the country was inhabited by an Aryan people, who had inherited from their forefathers the

custom of meeting in the open air at stated intervals for the discussion of local affairs and settling disputes. There were probably varieties of these folk-moots, such as village meetings, tribal meetings, and perhaps national meetings. Then came the Romans, also an Aryan people, but with a much-developed civilisation, and they, like the English in India, imposed upon the country their own improved variety of the same system, without perhaps interfering with the less important meetings. The successors to the Romans, also of Aryan race, made similar overlying changes, so that it is in the less important assemblies that we may expect to find the greatest resemblance to the original type.

Mr. Gomme (*Primitive Folk-Moots; or, Open-air Assemblies in Britain.* London, 1880) states that these folk-moots represent "all that primitive man had to fall back upon in his struggles for right and justice in his connection with men of his own tribe or village, and perhaps with those of foreign tribes or villages" (p. 5); that in the primitive assembly there was no clear division between legislating and judging (p. 6); that it was essentially democratic, and its legislation in Aryan countries consisted of the apportionment of the agricultural tenements and the duties incident to an agricultural community; its judgments consisted of the settlement of village wrongs, and occasionally the trial of a village criminal. This primitive council gave birth to the Athenian Ekklesia, to the Roman Comitia, and to our own Witan and Parliament. It is seen in history sometimes owning a responsibility to the entire body of freemen, sometimes disclaiming it, and sometimes overshadowed by the authority of an hereditary chief. Mr. Gomme further says: "The hundred-moot, the manor courts, the forest courts, the courts of the liberties and franchises, and the courts of some municipalities carry on the primitive associations to within the memory or, at all events, the knowledge of the modern

student" (p. 9), and the judicial duties of the old village assembly are seen at every court leet of a manor (p. 10). The distinctive feature, however, of a folk-moot Mr. Gomme considers to have been the open-air meeting (p. 11), and another important characteristic was the right [duty?] of the whole body of freemen to attend armed and take part in the proceedings (p. 14).

Mr. Gomme divides the survivals into (1) the historical, (2) the traditional and philological. Of these the historical includes some great franchises, the forest courts, manor courts, and others, which represent in uninterrupted succession the primitive institutions of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Britain; while the traditional and philological survivals include many old customs and significant derivations of topographical nomenclature (p. 19).

In dealing with this prehistoric question, so far as Lancashire and Cheshire are concerned, we must not forget that while in historic times Cheshire was part of Mercia, the modern county of Lancaster was part of Northumbria within the danelagh, and is made up of a territory which used to be described as "Between Ribble and Mersey," another territory between Ribble and Morecambe Bay, which anciently appertained to Richmond in Yorkshire, and a third territory north of Morecambe Bay, which by nature was designed to form part of Cumberland.

Each section was subjected in varying degrees to the incursions of the barbarians who succeeded the Romans, while it is supposed that in pre-Roman times each section was occupied by a different tribe. Under these circumstances it must be expected that the relics now remaining are of varying form.

Before we pass to an examination of these relics, it is not amiss to glance at the system which was imposed by the Romans, and which has been so carefully traced by Mr.

Coote in *The Romans of Britain* (London, 1878). The Romans appear to have founded or adopted cities (municipia) and attached to each the irregularly-outlined tribeland, which they styled the territorium, and which later on became a county or shire (Coote, p. 131; see also Gomme, p. 223). These territories were massed into provinces, and the highest criminal and civil jurisdiction in each province was vested in an imperial judge called a præses (Coote, p. 132), assisted by a council of legal assessors, who acted as judges for the province (p. 144). A small reserve of power was committed to the cities (p. 132), and it is within this reserve and in the lesser village powers that room is found for the survival in greater or less degree of the primitive folk-moot. This reserve may be styled customary law, or common law, or Lex non scripta. It is by no means improbable that the Costumal of Preston, which ends by a declaration that it represents the liberties enjoyed under the *Lex Bretonica*, is an instance of these city powers, and that they are further explained by the passage in Comyn's *Digest*, which states that "a custom to make a bye-law may be alleged in an ancient city or borough, and by custom also the tenants of a manor may make bye-laws for the good of the tenants, the homage of a manor or vill may do the same, as also may the residents in a leet, while every town or vill, though neither city nor borough, may make bye-laws, without special custom, for the public good, as for repair of a church or highway, &c."

In 410 the imperial governors and præsides were withdrawn, and each city appointed its own *comes* (Coote, p. 141), whose powers were those of a præses, but were restricted to the city and its territory (p. 144), and whose assessors or co-judges were the landowners of the territory (p. 145). In Anglo-Saxon times the city territory was called the *scyr* or shire, and the *comes* was called the *scirgerefa* or sheriff or *ealdorman* (p. 142), who could not, however, act without his

legal assessors, who were called *deman* (deemsters or judges) or *witan* (counsellors) or *scirmen* (p. 145).

The *comes* was judge of a high court for trial of all matters criminal and civil (p. 144). The ealdorman presided over the *mal* or court of thanes, who met in their shire to adjudicate upon all matters concerning themselves (p. 222). Later on we shall see that the lord of the manor of Manchester was entitled to the services of certain persons as judges, which indicates that Manchester as a Roman city had a territory perhaps co-extensive with the area from which these judges were drawn.

Besides the assessors or deman, there was an officer, peculiar to the Things of Scandinavia and the northern people, called the *raadman.* Dr. Hibbert informs us that whenever the Jarl of Orkney, or in his absence a *laughman*, sat in the Ting, he was assisted in his decrees by *raadmen* or councillors, who are simply described as "the best men of the district" (Gomme, 161; *Archæol. Scotica*, iii. 168).

From *Domesday Book* it appears that there were numerous *raadmen*, *rad*manni, *rad*chenistres or rachenistres in England at the time of the Conquest, who possessed considerable estates, and it is most probable that they were connected with the ancient Things of England (Gomme, p. 300). There were one hundred and forty-five radmans in Cheshire (Gomme, 300).

Under the Comes the city territory was divided for police purposes into *centenæ* and *decaniæ* (Coote, p. 330), which are echoed by the Saxon *hundreds* and *tithings* (p. 332). Each *hundredes ealdor*, or head of the hundred, was assisted by a council of twelve, and the tithingman was assisted by a council of nine (p. 333).

These local councils ought not to be lost sight of, in connection with certain bodies hereafter to be noted within the two counties.

The various folk-moots may be recapitulated in descending scale as shire-moots, hundred-moots, tithing-moots, also manor-moots and borough-moots.

ETYMOLOGY.

After this historical survey of the position, we should glance at the etymological side of the question, and ascertain the different terms applied to public open-air assemblies, or the districts which they represented.

Moot represents the Anglo-Saxon mót or *gemót*, a meeting, from *métan*, to meet. Varieties, mote, moat, mot, mut.

Mal in Anglo-Saxon meant an assembly or place of meeting.

Thing in Anglo-Saxon was the same as *gemót*, but was the term more especially used by the Danes and Norsemen Varieties, ting, thinge, ding, tinge.

Borough in Anglo-Saxon was *burh*, a fortified place, and has become altered to burgh, burth, brough, bury, bur, bier, bar, ber, bir.

Tithing is indicated by tat, tath, tats, tatten, tatter, tattings (Tat-ham, Lancashire; Tatten-hall, Cheshire). Tooting, toot, tot, totten, totter, totting, tyther.

Lawday has altered from "lagh-dæg" to "lady."

The following instances are restricted to our two counties of Lancaster and Chester, and references to examples elsewhere are carefully avoided.

INSTANCES.

Cheshire.

Taking place names as our evidence, we find in Cheshire the following:—

Moulds-worth, in Tarvin parish and Edisbury hundred, Mr. Gomme (p. 243) considers this equivalent to Mootsworth.

Thing-wall, a township in Woodchurch parish, in the lower division of Wirrall hundred, Cheshire, with the parish of Thurstaston (Thor's Standing-Stone) adjoining it. In 12 Henry III. (1227-28) there was a perambulation of the forests of Lancashire, and in Toxteth Park, by Liverpool, it is said, "Near these bounds Lord John the King gave *Thyngwall* with whatsoever poor in exchange for . . ." (Harland's *Mamecestre, Cheth. Soc.*, p. 60; Lansdowne MSS. Cod. 559, fo. 55).

At Wilmslow there was a Lady Field, which may have been the Law-Day Field (Barlow's *Historical Coll.*, vol. i., p. 30).

Mr. Gomme (p. 280) quotes from Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* (vol. ii., p. 4) that the "summons to the Hundred Court of Edisbury in Cheshire was by messenger bearing a large oaken ball, perforated and slung on a leathern thong, the ends of which were fixed on an iron bar. After summoning one township, he was met on the limits of the next by a person to whom he transferred the summons and the ball, which was sent in this manner round the circuit of the hundred."

It has been conjectured that the village of Tintwistle contains the word *tinget*, meaning *the thing*, or parliament, and that the neighbouring Mottram means *moot*-er-ham, or town of meeting (*Manchester Guardian*, "Local Notes and Queries," No. 244). Tintwistle, at any rate, was anciently a borough and had a court leet, and is now a member of the lordship of Mottram in Longdendale, and until recently was within the jurisdiction of a court of requests for recovery of debts under forty shillings. It is in the hundred of Macclesfield, and the parish of Mottram comprises a village named *Mat*ley, as well as those of *Mot*tram and *Tint*wistle. The church of Mottram stands on an eminence called War-hill, and the vicarage house, near it, is

surrounded by entrenchments similar to those of a Roman station. A court leet is held annually at Mottram on Michaelmas Day, at which a constable is or was elected (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, 1831).

The hundred of Bucklow met on Bucklow Hill (Gomme, p. 215), and Mr. Moseley in his book, *On Inferior Courts*, says that the late Wilbraham Egerton, Esq., claimed to hold hundred courts at Bucklow, Cheshire, by virtue of a lease from the Crown.

There is a Toot-hill (Tithing-hill) near Macclesfield (*Manchester Courier Local Gleanings*, No. 539, vol. ii., p. 51), and a Mote-Farm at Minshull Vernon (Gomme, p. 255).

Amongst the records and evidences of the old government of Cheshire, we find that at Chester there was a curia or senate, composed of twelve *judices civitatis*, or *deman* (Coote, p. 371). Possibly one of these was the King's Thegn, named Wulfrid, who in 1002 devised eighty estates belonging to him, including "lands between the Ribble and the Mersey and in Chester" (Coote, p. 468).

There were in Cheshire, when *Domesday Book* was compiled, no less than one hundred and forty-five radmans (Gomme, p. 300).

Officials of less dignity than these *deman* were chosen at the folk-moots, and were called burleymen, or bye-law-men, that is, men to administer the laws of the burh or district for which the moot was held. Burleymen were appointed as late as 1879 at the Courts Leet and Courts Baron of the Honour and Fee of Halton, and manors of Frodsham and Lyme Handley in Cheshire (Gomme, p. 297). At the Altrincham Court Leet, which is known to have been held since A.D. 1290, burleymen have continued to be annually appointed, who in 1879 are stated to have often proved useful in settling disputes. Their duty was to assess damage to gardens and fields caused by stray horses, cows, hens, &c.

In the townships of Knutsford and Mobberley (formerly Modberley, *i.e.*, Moot-burgh-ley?) burleymen are appointed, and within two years before 1879 they had given evidence in the county court as to damage to growing crops and gardens (Gomme, p. 298).

Lancashire.

Following the same lines of inquiry we find in Lancashire a town named Tonge, that has been supposed to echo the word Thing; also a *Ting*reave in Eccleston parish.

In 1756, amongst lands of Sir Frank Standish in Pestforlong in the parish of Leigh, were fields called *Mote* Fold, *Dood* [? toot, a tithing] Acre, *Welshman's* Field, Briery *Low*, and Great and Little *Loe* [low, a hill], and Bear Croft [? Burh] (*Lancashire and Cheshire Historical and Genealogical Notes*, vol. ii., p. 153). The mote fold was part of the old Pestforlong demesne, and with "house, garden, and lane" contained "Lord's measure 1a. 3r. 10p., pasture land 2r. 20p., yearly value £2" (*op. cit.*, p. 158).

There is a farmhouse called Toot Hill, in Pestorlang, near Risley Chapel, in Winwick parish, mentioned in an advertisement in a Manchester paper between 1770 and 1780 (*Manchester Courier Local Gleanings*, No. 539, vol. ii., p. 51).

Mr. Harland (*Mamecestre*, vol. iii., p. 581) notes the existence of Hundersfield, an ancient chapelry and division in the parish and four miles north-east of Rochdale, which in 1311 was styled Hundresfeld. He suggests that it may have been "the field of the hundred," whether of so many men, or of the hundredman or centurion, or of the division of a county, instead of "the field of Honore" or Honorius.

At *Tottingt*on was held the court (not of record) for the fee of Tottington, having jurisdiction over the wapentake of Tottington in debts not exceeding forty shillings contracted within the wapentake, and enforcing its judgments

by seizure and sale (Tallent-Bateman, *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. iv., p. 67).

Near Burnley are the Lad-law Stones.

The hundred of Warrington met upon the Moothill, in the town of Warrington (Gomme, 216).

In 1587 this Moothill is described in a survey of the barony as "the Scyt of the Mannor or Baronage nowe decayed and no Buildinge thereuppon," and Dr. Kendrick has described it minutely as follows: "It was a very perfect oval with a flattened summit. Its height above the land surrounding it was three yards. A trench or watercourse ran at its base on the south and west sides, and on the outside of the trench were distinct remains of a vallum or earthen parapet. Its level summit measured from east to west fifty-four yards and from north to south forty-three yards. The south and west sides were steep and abrupt, terminating below in the ditch and vallum; whilst on the north and east, although the form of the mound was very clearly defined, its sides sloped more gradually to the low ground near it" (*Lanc. and Chesh. Hist. Soc.*, 1852, pp. 59-68; Gomme, 237). It was close to the parish church.

The Castle Hill at Penwortham was also close to the church, being separated by a deep gully, and rising about eighteen feet above the level of the churchyard.

The origin of this hill is discussed in the Proceedings of the *Lanc. and Chesh. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ix., and it is noted (p. 76) that "Grose's *Military Antiquities* contain a plan of a Norman fortalice, and represent such an eminence as Castle Hill as being always or nearly so erected in the outer bailey for a court hill or tribunal, where the baron as high justiciar executed justice. Castle Hill, then, in all probability was the tribunal of Penwortham's baron. Tradition says that a verdict of this court not a century and a half ago executed a criminal" (Gomme, 238).

The late Rev. Mr. Thornber (*L. and C. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ix.) further says: "As you ascend the summit you cross several circular terraces, from each of which spring mamelon mounds that become gradually less," thus resembling somewhat the well-known Tynwald Hill in the Isle of Man.

Mr. Thornber also compares Penwortham Castle Hill with a round hill, near Cartmel, called Castle Head (*op. cit.*, p. 76).

In former times the charge to the Court Leet with view of frank pledge of the manor of Garstang was read on the elevated piece of ground now known as "Constable Hillock" (Fishwick, *Hist. of Garstang, Cheth. Soc.*, pp. 55, 56).

The late Rev. W. Thornber is an earlier authority for saying that "The constablewick of Garstang to the date of 1816 issued its laws and regulations from Constable Hill on the Wyre" (*Lanc. and Chesh. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ix., p. 76).

The artificial and once insulated mound called the Moot of Aldingham, in Furness, is on the crest of a rising ground, which on the south-west is terminated by a cliff formed by the waste of the sea. The mount is of a considerable height, somewhat oval at the base, and surrounded by a deep trench. Here the Saxon lord of Aldingham held his gemot as tradition declares (West, *Antiquities of Furness*, pp. 12, 21, 389). Mr. Gomme (p. 238) gives the height as thirty feet. Amongst the deeds relating to Aldingham manor mentioned in the Furness Coucher Book is one by which in 1277 the Abbot of Furness and Sir William Fitz Michael de Fournes agreed amongst other things that if the beasts of the one trespassed on the lands of the other amends should be made *secundum Birelegia* (according to the bye-laws) without suit (pp. 84 and 459), and the editor (Rev. J. C. Atkinson) in his note says, "No one can give a little attention to the place names and other indicatory

matters of a like nature in the Furness vicinity without being struck by the continually recurrent proofs of an early and prevailing Scandinavian influence."

At Ravenmeols, near Formby, on the coast, there is near the burial ground and modern church of St. Luke an eminence bearing the name of "Sherrocks Hill," which Mr. Gomme considers to indicate a "Shire-oaks Hill," and hence a place where the shire moots were held. The name of "Shire Lane" for a neighbouring road, he adds, is corroborative of some such occasion. The facts are derived from a paper by Mr. Boult, contributed to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool (Gomme, p. 211).

In connection with this, Mr. Gomme quotes a suggestion by Mr. Boult, that Raven is Keltic *ribheann*, the royal hill, and that Ravenhead in Lancashire and Ravenscroft in Cheshire are names significant of a primitive assembly; but this suggestion may, I think, be classed with that of Radcliffe in Lancashire being derived from A.S. *raed*, council.

In that part of the county which lies between Ribble and Morecambe Bay, we find that at Lancaster, Garstang, Poulton-le-Fylde, Kirkham, Goosnargh, and Preston the affairs of the parish were taken charge of by a body called "The sworn men." At Kirkham these were thirty in number, and at the other places named there were twenty-four. They were selected by the parishioners, two for each township, and remained in office until they died or removed from the district. They were sworn in by the civil power, and at Kirkham claimed the right to meet in the church. They appointed the churchwardens annually, and at Goosnargh nominated the clergyman.

About 1185 the Costumale of Preston supplies us with the titles *præfectus* for the portgrave or mayor, *pretors* for bailiffs, and reference is in it made to a pretor of the court. This curious document concludes, "This is the law of

Preston in Aumunderness, which they have from the Breton law (de Lege Bretonica)." According to it the burgesses of Preston were bound to attend at least three portmotes each year, and one of these had to be a grand portmoot, which was the equivalent to a court leet.

The mayor was chosen by a jury of twenty-four, twelve of whom were selected out of the twenty-four capital burgesses (seven aldermen and seventeen common councilmen), by two elisors or choosers (one of whom was nominated by the outgoing mayor, and the other elisor by the aldermen and capital burgesses), and the other twelve were in like manner chosen from the ordinary burgesses.

From the *Brief Description of Preston* (compiled about 1682, published 1818), we learn that this Court of Election was one of the three grand portmotes, and was convened by one of the sergeants ringing the Town Hall bell early in the morning, a second time at ten o'clock, and a third time at two in the afternoon; then the mayor, with his brethren (the aldermen and councillors) and burgesses, appeared in the hall, and "O yes" was called three times, after which followed the reading of the bailiff's accounts. The town clerk next bid the sergeant call "O yes" three times, and the burgess roll was called over, once in the hall, and next *in the open street;* defaulters who answered to the second call were fined three shillings and fourpence, and those who answered not to a third call were fined six shillings and eightpence. The mayor stood up and named his elisor, the senior alderman conferred with his brethren (the capital burgesses, who seem to have usurped the right of the common burgesses) and nominated the other elisor. The two elisors were sworn in, and made out a list of twelve capital burgesses and twelve common burgesses; while they were doing this the rest of the court adjourned to the sergeant's house for cakes and ale. The sergeant proclaimed the court again;

the elisors handed the jury list to the mayor, who delivered it to the town clerk to be called over. The mayor chose a capital burgess as foreman, who was sworn in, and then the rest of the jury were sworn, and retired to the council-house to choose a mayor, town's bailiff, and town's sergeant for one year, from the feast of St. Wilfrid, the archbishop. The persons chosen were next sworn in. On the Sunday before St. Wilfrid's Day, the old and new mayor and officers went in procession to church, where the two mayors *sat on an elevated seat*, and on St. Wilfrid's Day the procession was repeated, and the same elevated seat was occupied, but after the service the old mayor, *on reaching the open air*, handed the insignia of office to the new mayor, and the other officers followed his example.

The Salford charter (about 1230) speaks of a præpositus, whom the burgesses could elect annually, but it was the lord's bailiffs who presided in the portman-moot and lagh-moot (*Palatine Note-book*, vol. ii., pp. 147, 160).

The Wapentake Court for the Hundred of Salford was held in a building called "The Exchange," which stood in the middle of the road opposite the cross in Greengate, Salford (*Manchester Guardian*, "Local Notes and Queries," Nos. 100 and 195). It was held by the steward once a fortnight (Aston's *Manchester Guide*, 1804, p. 54).

Burleymen were appointed at the view of frank pledge of the manor of Warrington, and they imposed fines for wrongfully keeping horses on the common and other like offences (Gomme, p. 299).

In the honour and fee of Mackersfield and of the manor of Widnes in Lancashire burleymen were, as late as 1879 at least, appointed at the Courts Leet and Courts Baron. "Men of agricultural experience are always chosen, and their duty is to value damages, *e.g.*, to crops, from cattle straying, or the like. The late judge of the Warrington

County Court was in the habit of relying upon their evidence, and (by consent, of course) referring cases to them, and often observed how useful a general appointment of such referees would be" (Gomme, p. 297).

Burleymen were also appointed at many other places, and amongst them at Manchester, as will presently more particularly appear.

Manchester.

On examining the earlier history of the Manchester Court Leet, which is presumably the perpetuation of a prehistoric folk-moot, we find that the court was held within a stone's-throw of the parish churchyard, at a spot called the Booths. This name may have originally signified the stalls or booths of the market, but it was more particularly applied to a sort of large barn or toll-house, for the repair of which the lord of the manor was liable, but in which the townsfolk were wont to meet for any public purpose. Hollinworth, in his *History of Manchester*, about 1650 (p. 44), states that the church which preceded the present cathedral was "a vast wooden building not much vnlike to the Boothes where the Court Leete, Court Baron of the Lord, and the Quarter Sessions are now kept."

Tracing the history of the Booths, we find that in 1514, Thomas, Lord la Ware, lord of the manor of Manchester, granted the tollboothe to Richard Hunte and the heirs of his bodie lawfullie begotten rendering suit to the lord and paying four pounds yearly. Richard Hunt died in December, 1587, and his rights in the tolle booth passed to his son John, who, in April, 1620, was ordered to "repaire the court house comonlye called the Boothes" (Earwaker's *Court Leet Records*, iii. 24, *n.*). Amongst earlier entries relative to this building is one in October, 1590, presenting that "the bothes haue not bene Repeyred this yeare accordinge as the oughte to haue bene by the lawes of this Realme . . . reffert^{r}

ordini cur:" (vol. ii., p. 47). At the next court the jury presented that "the boothes, the cage, and the couc stoole be in great decay." This entry is observable as dealing with three public institutions belonging to the town.

On 15th November, 1656, Arthur Bulkeley seems to have been negociating with the lord of the manor for a lease of the Booths, by the description of "the town hall," and by a declaration of that date he agreed not to hinder the inhabitants of the town from meeting in the great chamber *intended for that purpose*, but they should "make vse of the said Chamb^{r} At their pleasures vppon all publique occasions" (*Court Leet Records*, vol. iv., p. 321).

In April, 1660, the name had changed to the town hall for "the occupants of M^{r} Gartside lands att Boothes Gutter shall repaire one spoute or watercourse adioyneinge to the roof of the Towne Hall" (vol. iv., p. 262), and again in April, 1665, there was a complaint that the Boothes gutter caused a stoppage of water, and two persons had "a doore openinge towards the said Channell or gutter betwixt their houses and the said Townes hall" (vol. v., p. 64).

The same two persons and their door are mentioned in October, 1669, varying the description of the adjoining building to "the Townes Hall or sessions Court" (vol. v., p. 97), and Mr. Earwaker states that "The Boothes" was still standing in 1685.

In 1671, the door betwixt the Court Chamb^{r} and the further Chamb^{r} was to be made up and the seates in the Court amended and the floor made even, with boards or flags, and also the walls of the Booths (vol. v., p. 153), and in April, 1675, the chamber of the town hall was ou
repair, especially the north side, . . . and without
help would fall, "Wee (the jury) doe ther
of this Court Leete to repaire the same
(vol. v., p. 244).

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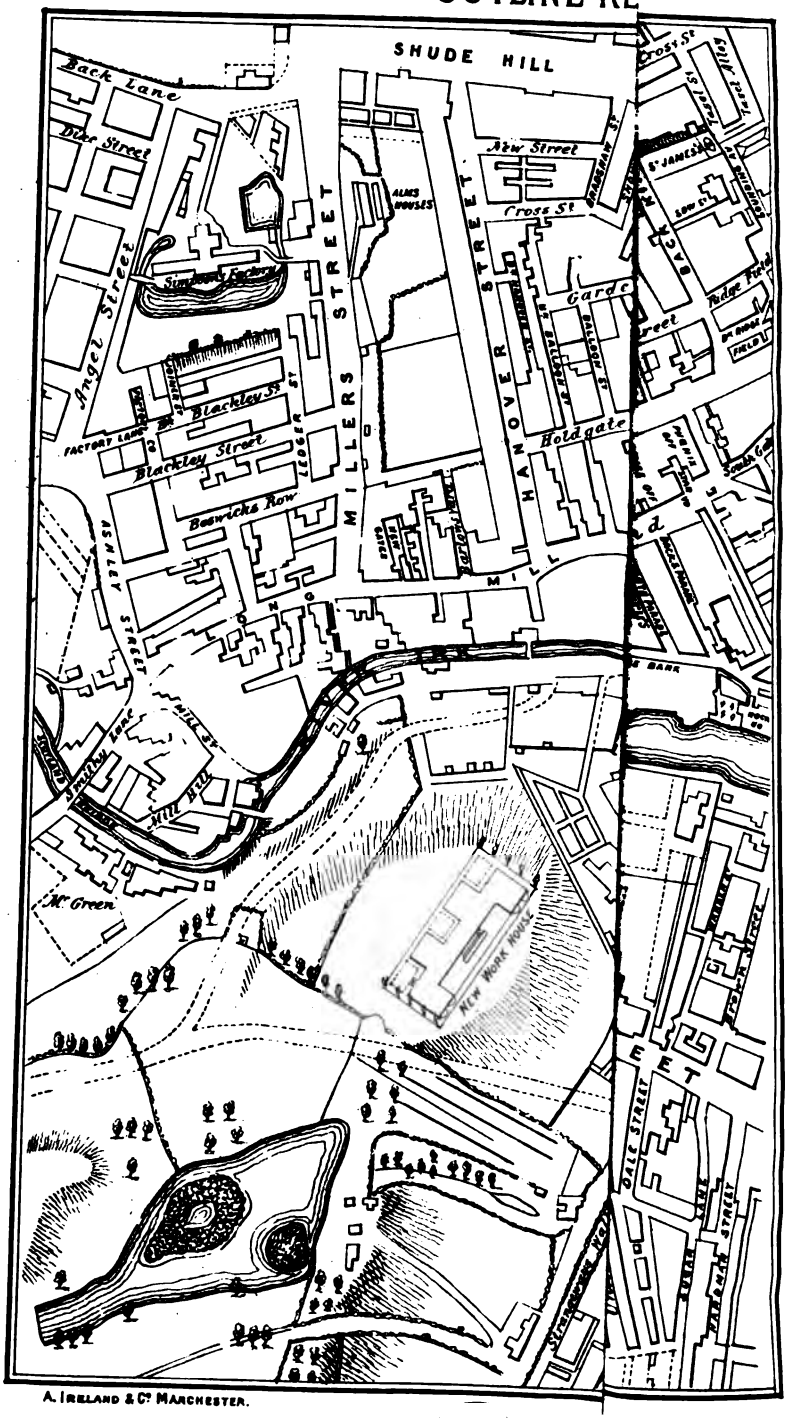
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HANOVER STREET
New Street
Cross St
Holdgate
Garde
Ridge Field
Hill Top
Mt Green
NEW WORK HOUSE
GALE STREET
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In 1729, the lord of the manor built the old Exchange, between Market Place and Smithy Door. It faced the present Exchange, and occupied the open space which up till then had lain in front of the "Old Sessions House or Long Room," the precise position of which in 1751 was fixed by Casson and Berry's Plan, a copy of which accompanies Procter's *Memorials of Bygone Manchester.*

The site of this old Exchange went by the name of Pennyless Hill, and the court leets were held in the old Exchange until it was pulled down in 1792 (*Manchester City News* "Notes and Queries," March 15th, 1879, No. 910), and the site was marked by a stone pillar and posts (Axon's *Annals of Manchester*). The last home of the court was in Brown Street.

It is open to conjecture that if the original place of meeting was not at Pennyless Hill, it may have been in the parish churchyard, but before applying any tests for such a theory it is as well to take a rapid survey of the position and history of the town.

Manchester has been somewhat aptly compared to the shape of a letter E, where the top bar represents the river Irk, the downstroke is the river Irwell with a parallel street called Deansgate, the middle bar is Market Street, and the base is the river Medlock. In or near the lowest angle was the Roman camp or castle, surviving in the names Campfield and Castlefield. Adjoining this there was a Roman town, surviving in the name "Aldport," which may have meant the old port or town (*cf.* Stock-port), or "alta porta," the high gate.

In the upper angle is the parish churchyard and the town proper. It is from nearer to this angle than to the lower angle that the undoubted Roman road to Stockport ran, at right angles from Deansgate, along St. Mary's Gate, past Pennyless Hill, up Market Street to Piccadilly and London

Road, and so forward to Stockport. Deansgate is likewise an undoubted Roman road, and runs southwards from the parish churchyard, while northwards from there another Roman road, or continuation of Deansgate, ran through Strangeways (Strong-road), through Broughton (Burh-ton), past the camp or burh at Camp Street, and so forwards to the other burh, now called Bury. The line of Chapel Street, Salford, ending with a ford over the Irwell, opposite the cathedral, also converges towards this upper angle.

I am well aware that it is usually held that the town in Roman times was at Aldport, and that it was destroyed by the barbarians, who thereupon founded a new town round the site of the cathedral. To my mind, however, the entire absence of any trace of a Roman road towards Stockport from the lowest angle of the "E," or from within perhaps three-quarters of a mile from Aldport, constitutes a very strong argument against Aldport being more than the place of purely Roman origin, which sprang up after the Romans built a fort there to guard the ford or bridge over the Medlock. The evidence points to the pre-Roman Mancunium having been in the upper angle formed by the junction of the Irk and Irwell. This was every whit as good a site as Campfield; and, with its rocky, scarped sides, was a much stronger position for the main castrum and town.

It appears to me also that the semi-circular line formed by the old streets named Toad Lane, Hanging Ditch, Cateaton Street, and Smithy Bank preserves the probable direction of a rampart or fosse which in pre-Roman times may have enclosed the area now chiefly occupied by Chetham's College, the Grammar School, and the Cathedral.

The space so enclosed was bisected at right angles by *Half* Street and Millgate running north and south, and by Fennel Street (*Venella*, a narrow street) and Back o' th' Church running east and west.

The innermost or north-west quarter was called Baron's Hull or Hill, and was occupied by the manor house called *Baron's Court*, or yard, alongside of Hunt's Hull, otherwise Hunt's Bank (Hollinworth's *History of Manchester, circa* 1656, ed. 1839, p. 33). The south-west quarter was occupied by the Old Church and churchyard.

The semi-circular form points to an origin with an uncivilised people rather than with the highly-civilised and rectangle-loving Romans. The maintenance of a quarter of the enclosure as an open space may have been due to its use as the moot place of the aboriginal Mancunians, and may have been still so used when Christianity made its appearance, and have commended itself to the missionaries as the best placed site for their church. Such a reason is far from improbable, for there are innumerable instances of the church and moot hill being in close proximity to each other. The Warrington moot hill in this county and Tynwald Hill in the Isle of Man may be taken as typical instances.

Before dealing further with the history of the Manchester Court Leet, it may help to an appreciation of some of the facts connected with the court if we see what is known with regard to the manor.

On this subject the late Mr. Harland wrote as follows: In Domesday times the Hundred of Salford contained twenty-one berewicks held by as many thanes for as many manors (*Mamecestre*, pp. 21, 22). The manor of Mamecestre was a manor by prescription, that is, from time beyond the memory of man. Indeed *Domesday* shows it was a manor in Saxon times. It possessed a court baron and the other privileges enjoyed by the larger manors. It comprised not only several vills, called its "members," with their hamlets, but a large number of freehold tenants. The extent and boundaries of the barony of the manor and

of the town or borough of Mamecestre are not easy to define (*Mamecestre*, p. 42).

The barony of Manchester, however, contained an upper and a lower bailiwick, and the lower bailiwick probably formed the *manor* of Mamecestre. It began at Aldport, at the junction of the Medlock with the Irwell, and passed northwardly along the Irwell to Strangeways, thence eastwardly towards Blackley and Alkrington, thence south-eastwardly to Ashton-under-Lyne to the River Tame as far as its junction with the Mersey at Heaton Norris, and then westwardly along the Mersey to its junction with the Irwell near Cadishead, and so along the Irwell to Aldport (*Mamecestre*, p. 39).

In 1320 and 1322 this lower bailiwick contained twenty-one places, which were arranged for the maintenance of the three sub-bailiffs of the grith sergeant into three groups. First: Barton, Flixton, Monton, Wiggleswick, Irlam, Davyhulme, and Bromyhurst (7). Second: Withington, Didsbury, Barlow, Chorlton, Denton, Haughton, Birches (in Rusholme), Levenshulme, and Le Brokes (9). Third: Ashton-under-Lyne with its members, Moston, Nuthurst, Hulme near Alport, and Heaton Norris (5).—(*Mamecestre*, 275, 299, 374, 397).

The ancient parish of Manchester comprised thirty townships, viz.:—Ardwick, Beswick, Blackley, Bradford, Broughton, Burnage, Cheetham, Chorlton Row, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Crumpsall, Denton, Didsbury, Droylsden, Failsworth, Gorton, Harpurhey, Heaton Norris, Haughton, Hulme, Levenshulme, Manchester, Moss Side, Moston, Newton-with-Kirkmanshulme, Openshaw, Reddish, Rusholme, Salford, Stretford, Withington. Of these, all except Broughton and Salford fall within the boundaries of the lower bailiwick, which, as we have seen, has been conjectured to have formed the manor of Manchester.

Turning to the history of the Court Leet, we must not overlook the locality known as Smithy Door, with its record in stone over one of the Victoria Street entrances to Victoria Buildings, showing the blacksmith triumphantly carrying off to the court his smithy door, in proof of the score for which he was sueing and which he had there chalked up. If the court were held at Pennyless Hill, he would not have far to carry his voucher.

The earliest dated notice of a Manchester court is, however, in the inquisition taken in 1282 on the death of Robert Greslet, seventh baron of Manchester, where it is recorded that the fees of the Borough Court of Manchester produced eight shillings a year ("et de perquisitis curiæ burgi de Mamecestriæ, viij. s.") and the pleas and fees of the Court Baron of the manor produced 100s. ("et de placitis et perquisitis curiæ baronis manerii, c. s.") (*Mamecestre*, pp. 134, 146). This "Court of the Borough of Manchester" is afterwards referred to as the *port-mote*, or *porte-man-mote*, *i.e.*, town meeting, and was the same as the Court Leet with view of frank pledge. It was the older and superior tribunal, and was held by the burgesses for petty matters. The other court was "the Court Baron of the Lord of the Manor," held at first every three weeks, and afterwards twice a year (with the Court Leet), about Easter and Michaelmas, when all the burgesses and other tenants of the manor were bound to appear (*Mamecestre*, 146, note). In 1320 this court baron was held every three weeks, and the lords of twelve neighbouring lordships or mesne manors or moieties of manors owed suit of court and were called judges or justiciers of Manchester "by custom from of old time." At that time the port-mote of the burgesses was held four times a year, and every burgess (or his wife or his eldest son for him) was bound to come four times yearly without excuse. Between the quarterly meetings of the port-mote (which were also called hal-motes)

there were lagh-motes (*Mamecestre*, pp. 335, 399). The Court Leet was held, so far as is known, by prescription (*Mamecestre*, p. 10).

The judges above referred to form an interesting feature in the court, being evidently the deman or assessors. In 1320 they were as follows :—

Place.	Judges.
1. Childwall* - - - - - -	1. Sir Thomas Lathom.
2. Harwood, half - - -	2. Robert de Holland.
	3. John Devias.
3. „ „ - - -	4. Henry de Trafford.
4. Withington - - - - -	5. Nicholas de Longford.
5. Pilkington and Unsworth -	6. Roger de Pilkington.
6. Brindle - - - - - - -	7. Alan de Burnell (Brindle).
7. Rumworth and Lostock -	8. Richard de Hulton.
8. Lever - - - - - -	9. William de Radcliffe.
	10. William de Lever.
9. Ashton under Lyne - -	11. John de Ashton.
10. Worthington - - - -	12. William de Worthington.

(*Mamecestre*, 286, 333, 334, 375, 398.)

A century earlier (about 1230), Alexander de Pakington (Pilkington) held of Robert Gredle and was to find one judge of ancient tenure, and about the same time Matthew and Roger, sons of William of Withington, held a fee of ancient tenure at Withington by the service of finding a judge (*Mamecestre*, p. 38; *Testa de Nevill;* Booker's *Didsbury, Cheth. Soc.*, p. 109).

If these judges did not sit always actually in Manchester, the Lord of Withington may have held a branch of the court at Lady Barn (Law-day Barn), which is bordered by the Lay or Ley Brook (Lagh?).

The ancient polity of Manchester is further, to some

* *Domesday Book* says Childwall was held by four radmans as four manors.

extent, reflected in its field names, amongst which we find in 1282 *Miln-ward* Crofte, about 1320 *Taine* [Thane?] Croft, *Keper*-feld (near The Cliff, Higher Broughton), and *Smithy* Field (perhaps Smed-ley, in Cheetham); in 1322 *Mareshal* feld (between Cheetham Hill Road and the River Irk), and in 1349 *Gavel*-feld (*Mamecestre*, 533-605).

In this connection we may note that about 1283 Sir Geoffrey de Bracebridge was seneschal or steward of Manchester (*Whalley Coucher Book*, p. 42), about 1311 Geoffrey Chetham was seneschal (Booker's *Didsbury*, 109), in 1316 Nicholas de Arden was capital seneschal (Hibbert-Ware, *Foundations of Manchester*, iv. 88), and as such they would preside at the court leet. In 1316, Thomas le Mareschall attested a deed (*L. and C. Hist. and Geneal. Notes*, vol. i., p. 35); in 1318, Henry Boteronde was præpositus of Manchester (*L. and C. Antiq. Soc.*, iv. 216); in 1324, Thomas le Marchal de Mamecestr attested two deeds (Booker's *Birch, Cheth. Soc.*, 192, 193); in another deed he is styled Tho: Marschall (*Mamecestre*, 434); in 1344, Richard, son of Thomas le Mareschal de Mamcester, attested two deeds (*Birch*, 194, 195); in 1375, Henry le Marshal de Mamcester attested a deed (*Birch*, 201); in 1379, William le Mareschal held a plot of land in Deansgate, and a burgage in Manchester (*Mamecestre*, 587).

In 1320 and 1322, according to the "survey" and "extent" of the manor of Manchester, the manor was under a *Balivus* or *Serviens Domini*, that is a bailiff or lord's sergeant, who was called the "Grith Sergeant," custos pacis, or keeper of the peace, and who had to ride about and superintend the demesne, and was assisted by four under bailiffs (sub-balivi); whence he was also called magister serviens or master sergeant, and we find that the field in Manchester, called *Marshal*-field, was also called *Maister*-felde in 1320 and *Marstis* feld in 1322 (*Mamecestre*, 395).

In 1277, Robert de Stokketon was bailiff of Manchester, and attended the Wapentake Court at Salford, held on the Monday next after the Feast of St. Martin, in winter (*Whalley Coucher Book*, 896), and the year before, Robert de Stuthen was the bailiff, unless the name is misread (*op. cit.*, p. 890). In 1316, Johannes de Hulton was bailiff (Hibbert-Ware, *Foundations*, iv. 88).

In 1301, Sir Thomas Gredle granted Manchester a charter, under which there was recognised a prefectus villæ or boroughreeve. Most probably this charter was a mere recognition of previously existing customary rights.

We also learn from the *Manchester Court Leet Records* that, amongst numerous other officers, persons were appointed to overlook the streets and see that the town bye-laws were observed and enforced. They were styled "Byrlamen," that is, "Borough-law-men."

It was in 1227 (three-quarters of a century before Manchester's first charter) that King Henry III. established in Manchester a fair called St. Matthew's Fair, to be held on the eve, day, and morrow of the Feast of St. Matthew, 21st September, and after the calendar was altered it was held on 1st October. It was always held in Acres Field, and was opened, according to Mr. Harland (*Lancashire Legends*, 1873, p. 84), by the Baron of Manchester in person, and during the three days no one might wear arms, and each adult inhabitant was bound to assist the grith sergeant to put down any riot or disorder. The *Court Leet Records*, however, in 18th April, 1566, record that "all the burgesses wthin Manchestere shall fynde eu^{r}ey of them anable mane or s'ue himselffe well furneshed for that purpas wth byll hobarde or other wepone to wayte vppone the stuerde vppone the fayre daye and this to contynew frome tyme to tyme sub pena." This bye-law was repeated on 6th October, 1568, perhaps in consequence of a greater disturbance

than usual a few days earlier. According to Aston (*Manchester Guide*, 1804, p. 262), the steward of the lord of the manor, accompanied in procession by the boroughreeve and constables and a few persons to represent the burgesses who owed suit and service to the court of the lord, proclaimed the right of the lord of the manor to hold the fair in that place; and there was, as recorded by Mr. Hibbert-Ware (*Foundations of Manchester*, vol. iv., p. 41), a custom of very ancient date for the inhabitants to assemble long before daybreak on the first day of the fair, armed with whips and great store of acorns, to protest against the intrusion of the lord by cracking their whips and pelting with the acorns the first cow, sheep, pig, or horse which entered the fair with shouts of "first cow," &c. I have elsewhere (*Manchester Literary Club Papers*, 1887, vol. vi.) endeavoured to show that Acresfield was a "Common Field," open to the public from October 1st to February 2nd, and that the assembly was possibly a protest against the invasion of their grazing rights. It was, at any rate, an open-air popular assembly.

To return, however, to the burleymen of Manchester. Not far from the cathedral stood Barlow Cross, which was sometimes called Barley Cross, and sometimes Barlow's Cross.

Folk etymology has derived the title from *barley*, on the supposition (devoid of foundation) that the cross stood where the corn market was held, and so was distinguished from Hyde's Cross, which was popularly supposed to have a connection with the *hides* of the cattle there sold (Aston's *Guide to Manchester*, 1804, p. 266). Hyde's Cross was at the junction of Shudehill with Corporation Street, and Mr. Aston says that the corn market was in Fennel Street, and was formerly called Barley Cross.

Hyde Cross is first mentioned in the Court Leet Records

in 1628. Barlow Cross first occurs in the Court Leet Records in March, 1554, when both "thinabiters of the towne" and "foryn's" were forbidden to "breke yearth betwyxt t house of Willm Sklatr & the ston brydge lyinge on this syde *borlow crosse* wtin a rode of the causaye of neythr syde." In the same records in April, 1557, Robart Holme was ordered to "make a nysshew for the water that comethe from *Barlowe crosse* so that the same may passe throughe a certayne ffelde of his now in the holdinge of George Romsdene."

In April, 1587, mention is made of an encroachment at *Barlowe Crosse*, and in April, 1615, we find *Barlowe Crosse* fields mentioned.

In 1408, William de Strangways had a grant of Le Knolles and Barlowe's Croft (*Manch. Collectanea*, vol. ii., p. 143, *Cheth. Soc.*).

Mr. Earwaker, in editing the *Court Leet Records*, notes that a deed dated 1721 describes a messuage and tenement as being "in the parish of Manchester near the lanes and highways leading from the town of Manchester towards the Ancoats and also towards Newton commonly known by the name of *Barlow Cross*." In October, 1623, a bye-law was made that no dung was to be unloaded nearer Manchester than "*Barlowe Crosse* towards Newton," and this bye-law was repeated in May, 1639, when the name was written "*Barlaw Crosse*."

Thus we see that Mr. Aston's assertion that the Barley Cross was in Fennel Street is unsupported. The cross much more probably stood at the far end of Corporation Street, where Miller's Lane joins Long Millgate and Corporation Street, and this hypothesis is supported by the fact recorded in Procter's *Manchester Streets* (p. 38), that the base of a cross was found when excavating near Barlow's Yard, in Long Mill Gate. There was a Barlow's Court there as well

as a Barlow's Yard, and a Rood's Gutter, or Gutter of the Cross, which ran into the Irk, where Mr. Aston says there was, in 1770, a small rookery. This word Barlow might be surmised to have originally had the same sense as Bierlow in South Yorkshire, where it is practically synonymous with township; but the spot is not near the township boundary. Most probably its name is derived from the well-known Barlow family, and has no connection with any proclamation of the bye-laws made by the Court Leet.

Both Barlow Cross and Hyde Cross are in all probability of date long anterior to 1540, when Manchester, under the Act 32 Henry VIII., became a sanctuary for fugitives from justice, and it is much to be regretted that our Court Leet Records only begin in October, 1552, as they would beyond doubt have contained some indication of the disgust of the inhabitants at the act which led in the year 1541 to its repeal, so far as Manchester was concerned, and the boundaries of the borough might have been recorded to show how far the sanctuary extended.

If we search for traces of the word *mall*, which is met with in other parts as the equivalent of folk-moot, we find that the street running southwardly from the church to the Market Place was called in 1552 *Melegate*. We have seen that the first courthouse was on the west side of Market Place, but Melegate may simply mean Meal Street and not Mall Street, and in support of that view we find that in 1555 it was called Melegate, as distinguished from the Mylnegate, and in 1660 the Court Leet books make mention of the lord's meale-house, where strangers were to bring their meal for sale, and this house was in the Market Place. In the neighbouring town of Bolton there is a Mealehouse Lane running northwardly into a Deansgate which runs east and west, and has the parish church at the east end, whereas the Manchester Deansgate runs north and south, and has the

parish church at the north end. At Stockport there was also a meal-house, surviving in the title Meal-house Brow. In Bolton there is likewise a part called Acresfield, which was the old name for the Manchester locality now called St. Ann's Square.

At the risk of being accused of an etymological craze, I venture to suggest, but not insist, that we have in Toad Lane an echo of the word "Toot." This street forms part of the semi-circular line of streets previously referred to, and in the *Court Leet Records* (vol. i., p. 8) for October, 1552, the word is written "*towdlane*," in October, 1553, it is "*toudlane*," and in May, 1553, "*tode lane*." In October, 1609, "Skevingers for the Crooked lane als Tode lane" were appointed. In 1580 and 1584 we find the spelling "Tod-lane," "Tode lawne" in 1585, but in 1583 "Toodlane." It first received the honour of scavengers in September, 1577, when two were appointed "for Milgate and Todelane." In October, 1610, it is styled "the Toade lane als Newstreete." If Toad Lane meant Tithing Lane, perhaps Deansgate derived its name from the decanial divisions of the city territory under the comes who succeeded the imperial præses, and may therefore be older than the first appointment of rural deans.

After all, however, the most important indication that the parish churchyard was the original moot place is the fact, stated by Mr. James Bury in *Manchester City News* "Notes and Queries," 21st September, 1878, that the Old Church burial ground was parcelled out in lots, and that the town and surrounding townships in the parish had each a plot for its burials which were called "*hills*," as Stretford Hill, Droylsden Hill, Gorton Hill, and so on. Mr. Bury informs me that he cannot remember where he obtained his authority for the statement. He was under the impression that the facts were to be found in

Lancashire Chantries of the Chetham Society Series, or in Hibbert-Ware's *Foundations of Manchester*, both of which I have searched in vain; but from Axon's *Annals of Manchester* (p. 58) it appears that in 1645 Robert Burnell came to be sexton of Manchester Church, and the rates then for graves in alleys *in the parish part*, except middle alley and two cross alleys, were five shillings for a man or woman and two shillings and sixpence for a child, and [in middle alley, &c.] ten groats for a child and six shillings and eightpence for a man or woman, and in 1649 these charges were doubled. This division of the churchyard into "hills" is possibly a perpetuation of the locations of those freemen of each township who attended the moots. Hollinworth, in his *History of Manchester* (p. 24), says "Hundreds or wapentakes are sometimes denominated from beacons, hills," and thus the word hill may have grown to be equivalent to division.

With these remarks I must conclude an attempt to add one more chapter to the history of Manchester, so industriously constructed by the late Mr. Harland.

NOTE.—The Map of Manchester in 1650 is from the plate used in "Old Manchester" (twenty-three illustrations), sold by Mr. John Heywood, in Deansgate, for one penny. The other Map is prepared from the outline reprint of Laurent's Map of Manchester in 1793, issued with Lewis's "Directory for Manchester and Salford in 1788." Further particulars relative to both Maps will be found in *Manchester Collectanea, Cheth. Soc.*, vol. lxviii.

WERE THE ROMANS ACQUAINTED WITH IRELAND?

BY GEORGE ESDAILE.

MY argument is that they were acquainted with Hibernia, Ernia, Parva Britannia, or by whatever name they called Ireland; and that the Romans had numbers of the Irish peoples or tribes enrolled in the legions serving in parts of the world other than Britain.

That this can be proved by the numerous inscriptions from incised slabs, given in the Corpus Inscriptionum, and supported further by the general practice of the method of pitting one nation against another in garrisoning countries with foreign troops. Additional confirmation is also found in the roads of Ireland, disused or existent, which have towns upon or near them bearing names signifying that such towns are contiguous to such roads, and that such roads are of foreign make.

From the following authors we find that Ireland was generally known to the world as Hibernia, Hybernia, Ibernia, Iuvernia, Iris, Hierna, Ivernia—Aristotle (B.C. 322); Julius Cæsar, Bell. G., v. 13 (*ob.* 44 B.C.); Diodorus Siculus 4 (B.C. 44); Strabo 4 (A.D. 25); Pomponius Mela 3. c. b. (45 A.D.); Juvenal 2, v. 160 (A.D. 128); Plut. de Facie in Lun (*ob.* A.D. 140); and Ptolemy 2. c. 2 (A.D. 140).

In the eleventh iter of Antonine do we not find a road traversing Magna Britannia through Chester to the west sea coast and pointing towards Ireland, and really of no practical utility if it were not the most direct way across the Menai, and ending at Holyhead, the port for that island?

In the tenth iter of Richard of Cirencester we have an alternative way—the Via Julia—leading to the coast, near St. David's—ab hac urbe per m. p. m. xxx. navigas in Hyberniam. This itinerary is objected to by some, on the ground that it is a fabrication by Bertram in the last century; but as it coincides with the itinerary of Talbot, given in Leland, as well as with that in Camden, and that in the instance quoted it is on the line of the Via Julia, we must pay some deference to the additional information it gives, even if in part copied from the works mentioned, although it does not even give all we find in the itinerary of Antonine. Subsequent research has abundantly proved that the latter refers only to a portion of Britain; that part, in fact, traversed by the compiler, and is therefore not exhaustive.

Seeing that we have generally admitted knowledge of the existence of more than one "trajectus," or passage, from North and South Wales—if not also others from Scotland, say Port Patrick—to Ireland, let us proceed to trace, from various sources, what the ancients knew of Ireland; and I would here remark that if they (the ancients), whether Phœnicians, Greeks, or Egyptians, had any knowledge of the existence of Ireland, the Romans must necessarily have also known of it.

In the Argonautics of Orpheus, ascribed to Onomacritus (B.C. 520), is a passage which Camden, Ussher, and Bochart consider to be evidence that the Greeks were acquainted with Ireland at a more remote period than that mentioned. Some, however, consider this work to be a forgery of the fourth century.

Herodotus iv., c. 13 (*cir.* B.C. 445), describes a voyage by Phœnicians, who, passing down the Red Sea, doubled the Cape and returned through the Pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar), and "they affirmed that in sailing round Lybia (Africa) they had the sun on the right hand, which I, indeed, do not believe, though another may."

Ephorus, who wrote B.C. 352, and quoted by Strabo (A.D. 25), showed an extension of the Gauls into Spain as far as Cadiz, and in this Lucan (A.D. 65) agrees in lib. iv.

> . . . pro fugique a gente vetusta.
> Gallorum, Celtæ, miscentes nomen Iberis.
>
> . . . forth from the ancient nation of the Gauls,
> The Celts their names with the Iberians mix.

In the Cosmos ascribed to Aristotle (*ob.* B.C. 322), § 3, but by some accounted spurious, we read: "Beyond the Pillars of Hercules is the ocean which surrounds the earth; in it are two very large islands called Britannica, these are Albion and Ierne."

Eratosthenes (B.C. 250), librarian to Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 250), gives the distance of Ireland from Celtica or Gaul.

Polybius (B.C. 150), Ptolemy (A.D. 140), and others speak of the Isles of Britain, Albion, and Ibernia as the largest in the world.

Catullus (*ob.* B.C. 40) calls Ireland the remotest island.

Julius Cæsar (*ob.* B.C. 44), in the Commentaries, lib. v. xiii., describes Ireland as lying to the west of Britain, and is followed by Pomponius Mela and Tacitus. Cæsar specifies the distance that Hibernia is from Britannia "the same as to Gaul," "sed pari spatio transmissus, atque ex Gallia, est in Britanniam."

Diodorus Siculus (B.C. 44), contemporary with Cæsar, calls the inhabitants of Irin, Britones, as being of the same Celtic origin with the Britons, and in this Plutarch (*ob.* A.D. 140) agrees.

In Horace (*ob.* B.C. 8), i. 134, we read:—

Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos orbis Britannos.

We must all deplore the wholesale destruction of the works of ancient authors in various ways, by the burning of the great libraries, and from other causes; but that which we should most lament took place in the middle ages—literally the dark ages—when rare MSS. were obliterated for the sake of the parchment they were written upon; and from the following short list of writers a faint idea may be gained of the number and value of the books lost to us, and which would have explained away many difficulties and added immense stores to our poor knowledge of the past:—Herodotus, many works lost. Cæsar, several books not extant. Diodorus Siculus, all lost except fifteen of his forty books of the history of Egypt, Persia, Syria, Media, Greece, Rome, and Carthage. Strabo, geography in seventeen books only left. Tacitus, twenty-one books remain out of thirty. Lucan, all lost but his Pharsalia in ten books. Pliny second, his history lost. Dionysius, all lost except eleven of his twenty books on history. Suetonius, many works lost. Ammianus Marcellinus, all lost except eighteen of his thirty-one books.

Strabo, a Greek geographer and historian who flourished under Augustus and died A.D. 25, in the fourth book describes Gaul and the Britannic Isles. He has, however, erred—in the minds of some—in his statement placing Ireland to the north of Britain, and to which I will again refer. He also speaks of Ireland being scarcely habitable from its coldness.

Pomponius Mela (A.D. 45) in his third book writes, "Its (Ireland's) inhabitants are uncivilised, ignorant of every virtue, and entirely destitute of piety."

To digress to a controversy of later times, but in which authors are mentioned whose proper place in my paper is

here, must be my excuse. It is the argument of Buchanan against Lloyd, and should be taken for what it is worth, xxxix.: "He (Humphrey Lloyd, *Hist. Frag.*, 1572) says that Julius Cæsar and Cornelius Tacitus, writers of great industry, and also Suetonius, Herodian, and the rest of the Roman authors who have written respecting the affairs of Britain, never mentioned either the Scots (Irish) nor the Picts; therefore they had no residence in Britain in that age." Buchanan reminds him that he cannot ignore the speech to Maximian, "And this nation, then but rude, and accustomed only to a warfare with the Picts and Irish of the British soil (soli Britanni), still half naked, easily yielded to the ensigns and arms of Rome; and he further recalled to his memory that Paulus Orosius and Bede state that all the inhabitants of Ireland were from the earliest times called Scots."

We also learn from Lucan (who died about A.D. 54) that the Caledonians were not unknown to the Romans:—

> Aut vaga cum Tethys, Ruptinaque litora fervent,
> Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.
>
> When the waves rage upon the Kentish coast
> The Caledonian Britons feel no storm.

From this passage we can, I think, draw four conclusions. Either that the Romans knew of the Caledonians through Cæsar's invasion; or that between A.D. 53 and the date of the second invasion (first century) Lucan must have heard of them; or that merchants trading to Britain had made the name of the Caledonians familiar to the Romans; or that there were books, now lost, which gave him accounts of the natives of the British isles.

In support of the latter supposition, we have the valuable geographical work of Dionysius Periegetes, a writer of the Augustan age, which shows that the Romans knew of Ireland and that Hibernia was Parva Britannia, as England (together with Scotland) was called Magna Britannia (*Dion.*, pp. 720-1),

and in the notes in the 1561 edition we have "Duæ insulæ sunt Bretanides-Albion seu Anglia et Hybernia."

Pliny (*ob.* 79 A.D.) states that Britain was discovered by the Tyrian Hercules, and with this statement Sir Isaac Newton agreed (*Chron.*, p. 112). The former also states that Mona and Monapia are between Hibernia and Britain, showing a full knowledge of the relative positions of the islands.

According to Tacitus (54-60 A.D.), Vit. Agric., c. 24, we find "Ireland lying in the midway between Spain and Britain, and likewise very convenient for the Gallic Sea, united the strongest parts of the empire by its great advantages, its approaches and harbours being better known than those of Britain by trade and merchants. Our own Camden (Gough, 219), referring to Ireland at this period, proceeds to state, "Though Julius Agricola kept with him a petty prince of Ireland, driven out by a sedition, in case he should invade the island, which he supposed might be reduced and kept in obedience with one legion and a few auxiliaries; and though he says this would be of advantage to the Roman interest in Britain if their arms had possession of the neighbouring parts, and liberty was in a manner banished out of sight; yet we do not find that the Romans made any attempts upon it."

It is true that in the extant works of Tacitus we do not find any such mention, which is the more singular when "its approaches and harbours were better known than those of Britain." But from Juvenal (*ob.* 127 A.D.), ii. 160, we must infer that they did conquer Ireland—

> . . . . Arma quid ultra
> Littora Juvernæ promovimus, et modo captas
> Orcades, et minima contentos nocte Britannos.
>
> In vain, O Rome, thou dost thy conquests boast,
> Beyond the British Isles' short-nighted coast,
> Beyond Juverna and the Orcades.

It is worth noting that Eutropius (A.D. 193), Nennius (seventh century), Bede (eighth century), Ordericus Vitalis (eleventh century), Geoffrey of Monmouth and Henry of Huntingdon (twelfth century), all state that Claudius (41-54 A.D.) added the Orcades (Orkneys) to the empire, whilst Tacitus in his *Life of Agricola* asserts that Agricola did so.

It is possible that the *Life of Agricola* is a manufacture of the fifteenth century, for his account of the conquest of Scotland is at variance with the statements of Lucan, Martial, V. Flaccus, Statius, and Pliny, who all lived in the first century, and who all agree that the Romans were in Scotland before the time of Agricola. Whether the *Life of Agricola* is to be accepted as the work of Tacitus remains to be seen, but it should be remembered that it was not included in the first edition. It first appeared when Hector Boece, that most untrustworthy of historians, was studying at Paris, and he is the first who alludes to Agricola's campaign (*Burton*, a relative of mine, in his *Hist. Scot.* i. 10).

During the fourteen centuries after the time of Agricola only Dion Cassius (A.D. 230) mentions him; whilst Gildas (A.D. 560), Nennius (seventh century), the Saxon Chronicle (before ninth century), Ethelwerd (A.D. 975), Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, and Florence of Worcester (twelfth century), Roger of Wendover (thirteenth century), and many more relate the British expeditions of Julius Cæsar, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, and Severus, but do not allude to the Scottish campaign of Agricola. Yet we know, from inscribed stones that have been found, that he must have been in Britain.

I think that considerable caution should be used in receiving the statements of Tacitus, who, in describing the Emperor Claudius, states that he was of a feeble understanding, "imminuta mens," and yet he puts into his mouth a vigorous, pointed speech to the Senate (*ann.* xi. 24). But,

strange to say, proof exists that this was not the speech made by the emperor. To find the original of that famous address we must go to the Hotel de Ville at Lyons, where in the vestibule are to be seen two brass plates dug up in Lyons in 1528. These contain in their imperfect state a large quantity of matter, while Tacitus has given only about two-fifths of the same bulk and with only three points of similarity. Still I must say that I think considerable deference should be paid to any statement of fact made by Tacitus respecting Gaul and Britain, as (*temp.* Vesp.) he was Governor of Gallia Belgica, and therefore must have had his information first hand—always assuming that the *Life of Agricola* be not a fabrication.

Solinus (first or third century), cap. xxv., writing of Britain, states: "It is surrounded by many considerable islands, of which Ireland approaches nearest to it in magnitude. It is inhospitable on account of the cruel customs of its inhabitants; but its fertility is so exuberant that unless the herds were sometimes, in summer, driven away from the pastures they would be greatly in danger of suffering from repletion. There are no serpents there, and not many birds; the natives are always savage and warlike. After battle, the victors stain their faces with the blood of their slaughtered enemies; they make no distinction between right and wrong. The first food of a man-child is placed upon the sword of his father, and gently put into his little mouth with the point of the weapon, while the mother offers up her vows that he may meet death only in war and in arms. Those who study elegance, ornament the hilts of their swords with the teeth of sea calves, which they polish white as ivory; for the principal glory of the men consists in the brilliancy of their armour. The sea which divides Ireland and Britain is boisterous and stormy the greater part of the year, and is not passable except during a few days in summer. The

natives navigate it in osier vessels, which they bind round with the hides of oxen, and during their passage, however long, the sailors abstain from all food. Those who have examined the strait estimate its width at one hundred and twenty miles."

Agrippa, a mathematician of Bithynia (81-96 A.D.), states the length of Hibernia to be six hundred miles, and the breadth three hundred, about double the actual measurement; yet showing that in the reign of Domitian there was some knowledge of Ireland.

In the second century we have in the work of Apuleius, *De Mundo*, quotations from Aristotle (B.C. 322) and Theophrastus (*ob.* B.C. 288) as to the two British islands, Albion and Ierne.

It has been held by some writers that Ptolemy's geography (*cir.* 140 A.D.) should be received with caution, amounting almost to a disbelief in its genuineness, mainly because he puts Ireland to the north of England. This prejudice I think I can explain away, and show how Ptolemy came to make this statement, which is really true, for according to the map making of the time (or Dionysius, first century) the voyager sailing from what Richard of Cirencester terms the port for Hibernia, in or near St. Bride's Bay, would, by sailing due north, land near Dublin. The same result, a landing in Ireland, would be obtained by sailing by the star from Cornwall.

In this Ptolemy is supported by Strabo (25 A.D.) and Mela (45 A.D.) and the anonymous geographer of Ravenna (seventh century). Again, two Greek writers, Procopius and Stephanus Byzantinus (both in the fifth century), evidently follow the cartography of Dionysius in making Ireland longer from east to west than from north to south.

Eumenius (writing 296-304), pt. iii., c. i., makes mention of the Irish, "that before the time of Julius Cæsar, Britain,

that is, the part of Britain south of the Forth and Clyde, was invaded by the Picts and Irish (Scots), Pictis modo et Hibernis." And the same writer, in the Panegyric addressed to the Emperor Constantine (*c.* 20), insinuates that Ireland was under his influence: "Britain is so far recovered that even the nations bordering upon it obey your command."

And our own Camden, following up the subject, proceeds (219): "In later chronicles it is said that Ireland with Britain and Thule fell to Constantine, son of Constantine the Great, on the division of the empire."

Porphyry, a writer of the fourth century, uses the term Scoticæ gentes, the Scottish nations of the Britannic world; in these the Irish were meant.

Ethicus, another of the same century, records: "Hibernia a Scotorum gentibus colitur," Ireland is inhabited by the nations of the Scots.

Ammianus Marcellinus (*ob. cir.* A.D. 390), book xx., states: "In the tenth consulship of Constantius and the third of Julian peace was interrupted in Britain by the incursions of the Scots and Picts, who laid waste the places situate in their vicinity and spread terror through the provinces, wearied with the number of past slaughters." And again, the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti tormented the Britons with continued misfortunes; and he further says: "It may, however, suffice it to say, that at that time the Picts, divided into two nations, the Dicaledonians and Vecturiones, and likewise the Attacotti, a very warlike people, and the Scots (Irish) spread over different quarters, and committed great devastations."

Orosius also, in the fourth century, writes: "Hibernia insula inter Britanniam et Hispaniam—a Scotorum gentibus colitur."

In the "Ora Maritima" of Rufus Festus Avienus (*cir.* 378 A.D.), an account is given of a voyage of discovery in

the northern seas by a Carthaginian officer, Himilco (*cir.* B.C. 300), and which lasted four months.

Claudian (395 A.D.), in his seventh panegyric, writes:—

> Maduerunt Saxone fuso
> Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule:
> Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.
>
> The Saxon life-streams, the Orcades wet,
> And distant Thulé smokes with Pictish blood,
> While icy Ireland weeps her pile of Scots.

And again, Claudian, writing of the aid received from the Irish Scots against the Romans:—

> Totam cum Scotus Iernam
> Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
>
> When the Scot moved all Ireland; and the flood,
> Rolling between, foamed with hostile oar.

Another passage in Claudian reads:—

> Ille leves Mauro, nec falso nomine Pictos,
> Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
> Fregit Hyperboreas remis audicibus undas.
>
> He the fleet Moor subdued; and painted Pict,
> Not falsely named. With a strange sword the Scot
> He followed; and the Hyperborean wave
> Smote with his daring oars.

And again:—

> Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
> Quæ Scoto dat fræma truci, ferroque notatus,
> Perlegit examines Picto moriente figuras.
>
> The legion came which guards the utmost bounds
> Of Britain, and curbs in the savage Scot,
> They, on the bodies of the dying Picts,
> Saw the rude figures, iron-graved.

According to Paulus Orosius (416-425), "Ireland was an island, is nearer Britain, somewhat smaller, but more agreeable in the temperature of the climate and fertility of the soil. It is inhabited by the Scots. Next to it is the island of Mona (Man), not very little, of a good soil, and also inhabited by the Scots.

Bede agrees with Orosius that the people of Ireland were called *Scots.*

Orosius further informs us that at a great distance to the south-west the Velabri and Luceni lived in former days, and so agreeing with Ptolemy.

Gildas (*temp.* 560 A.D.) calls the Picts and Scots "transmarine gentes." Bede (695-735) follows him thus: "The Scots and Picts are called transmarine nations, or people from beyond the seas," and proceeds to explain, "not because they dwell out of Britain, but on account of their habitation in the island being separated from those of the Britons by two arms of the sea." It is Gildas (§ 14) to whom we are indebted (*ob.* 570 A.D.) for the information that the Picts invaded the Britons "ab aquilone" from the north, but the Scots "a circio" from the north-west, evidently passing from the north of Ireland to Britain from the north-west.

In Bede, who lived 695-735 A.D., lib. i., c. xii., we read: "Afterward, Britain being wholly deprived of her armed militia and every kind of military force, and the flower of her youth, drawn from her by the temerity of tyrants, never returning home, laid the country open to depredation, as all who remained were entirely ignorant of warfare. (This also supports the statement in the petition of the Britons to Ætius, fifth century.) They were suddenly assailed by two cruelly savage transmarine nations—the Scots blown thither by the vehement *south* wind, and the Picts by the bitter north—under whom they groaned for years." In taking ship, the Scots, or some of them, doubtless left the well-known port near Wexford, and so were blown hither by the south wind. The seeming difference between the statements of Gildas and Bede can be reconciled if we suppose that the Scots came over in two bodies.

Some information as to Ireland is to be found in the

Saxon Chronicle, which King Alfred is believed to have translated in 891. Near the beginning we read: "He (Julius Cæsar) left his army to abide among the Scots and went south into Gaul;" the true reading of this passage is obviously, he left his army to abide in winter quarters "in Hyberna" and not in Hybernia; but as the word Scots was used in the translation, it may be taken as proof that the Scots were known to have come from Ireland.

Another author of the sixth century, Cogitosus, who is quoted by Ussher, shows that the Scots were really Irish or from Ireland.

In the *Life of Charlemagne*, by Eginhart (ninth century), we read, "Norwegi, Hiberniam, Scotorum insulam, agressi, a Scotis in fugam conversi sunt."

Having given most of the prominent writers who have alluded to Ireland, I will return to the works of Ptolemy (140 A.D.), in which we have a complete account of Ireland and its people. I have noted the localities of the tribes upon the chart now exhibited, as also those in parts of Scotland and Britain where any of them have been said to have dwelt. Ptolemy systematically states facts, which Wells (*Anc. Geog.*, 1701, pp. 51-52) identifies with localities, and these are amplified by Whitaker, who states that—

Along the east coast and the Vergivian or internal ocean were ranged the (1) Damni, (2) the Voluntii, (3) the Eblani, (4) the Caucii, (5) the Menapii, and (6) the Coriondii.

1. The first inhabited a part of the two counties of *Antrim* and *Down*, extending from Fairhead, the most N.E. extremity of the island to Isamnum Promontorium on the point of Ardglass haven, in the county of Down; and having the Logia, or Lagan, which falls into Carrickfergus Bay, within their possessions, and Dunun or Down-Patrick for their capital.

2. The Voluntii possessed the coast from the point of that haven to the river Buvinda or Boyne, the remainder of *Down*, the breadth of *Armagh*, and all *Louth;* having the Vinderus or Carlingford river in their dominions, and the town of Laberus (Lebarum), near the river Deva (Atherdee in county Louth), for their metropolis.

3. The Eblani reached from the Boyne to the Læbius, Læv-ui, or Liffy; residing in *East Meath* and in the larger portion of *Dublin County*, which is to the north of this river, and acknowledging Mediolânum Eblana, or Dublin, for their principal town.

4. The Caucii spread from the Liffy to the Letrim, the Oboca of the ancients, had the rest of *Dublin County*, and such parts of *Wicklow* as lie to the north of the latter, and owned Dunun or Rathdowne for their chief city.

5. The Menapii occupied the coast betwixt the Letrim and Cancarne point, all the rest of *Wicklow*, and all *Wexford* to the point; their chief town Menapia, being placed upon the east of Modona, Slanus, or Slane.

6. And the Coriondii inhabited at the back of the Caucii and Menapii to the west of the Slane and Liffy, and in all *Kildare* and all *Catherlogh*, being limited by the Boyne and Barrow on the west, the Eblana on the north, and the Brigantes on the south.

Upon the south shore and along the verge of the Cantabrian Ocean lay the (7) Brigantes, (8), the Vodiæ, and (9) the Ibernii.

7. The Brigantes owned all the rest of *Wexford* and all *Waterford*, extending to the Blackwater, Avonmore, or Dabrona on the south-west, having the great mouth of the Barrow within their territories, and Brigantia, *Waterford*, or some town near it, for their first city: and giving the name of Brigas to the Suir or Swire, their limitary stream on the north, and the appellation of Bergie to their own part of the county of *Wexford*.

8. The Vodiæ possessed the shire of *Cork* from the Blackwater to the Ban, the river of Kinsale, and the Dobona or Dubana of the ancients, and affixed the name of Vodium Promontorium to the point of Ballycotton Island.

9. And the Ibernii inhabited the remainder of *Cork*, and all that part of *Kerry* which lies south-east of Dingle Sound, having Rusina or Ibaune for their capital, the Promontorium Austrinum or Missen-head about the middle of their dominions, and the river Ibernus or Dingle Sound for their north barrier, and leaving their names to the three divisions of Ibaune, Beare, and Iveragh.

Upon the western shore of the island and along the Great Britannic or Atlantic Ocean were (10) the Lucanii or Lucenii, the (11) Velaborii, and the (12) Cangani; the (13) Auterii, the (14) Nagnatæ, the (15) Hardinii, and (16) the Venicnii.

10. The Lucenii inhabited the peninsula that lies along the river Ibernus or Dingle Sound, and perhaps some adjoining parts of Kerry.

11. The Velaborii or Velatorii ranged along the small remainder of the *latter*, and over the whole of *Limerick* to the Senus or Shannon, having the Durius or Casheen flowing through their dominions, and Regia, Limerick, or some town near it for their metropolis. And the latter was probably that city near Limerick the site of which is still famous, and retains the appellation of Cathair (Cahir?) or the fortress, and where the remains of streets and other marks of a town may yet be traced.

12. The Cangani (Concangii) or Gangani lived in the county of *Clare*, Malcolicum (Macobicum), near the Shannon, perhaps Feakle, or Melic, being

their principal town, a headland in the Bay of Galway, near Glaning, being denominated Benisamnum Promontorium, and the adjoining Isles of *Arran*, Insulæ Canganæ.

13. The Auterii were settled in the county of *Galway*, winding along the deep recess of the Sinus Ausoba or Bay of Galway, stretching towards the north as far as the Libuius or the river that bounds the shire in that part, and possessing the small portion of *Mayo* which lies to the south of it. And these were subject to Auterium, anciently Aterith, and now Athenree.

14. The Nagnatæ occupied the rest of the large county of *Mayo*, all *Sligo* and all *Roscommon*, all *Leitrim* as far as Lough Allin on the south-east, and all Fermanagh to Ballyshannon and Lough Erne; being bounded by the Rhebius or river of Ballyshannon and the Lake Rhebius or Lough Erne; having a deep bay, called Magnus Sinus, that curves along *Mayo*, *Sligo*, and *Leitrim* counties; and acknowledging Nagant, Necmaht, or Alnecmaht, the town of the Nagnatæ, for their capital.

15 and 16. And the Hardinii and Venicnii were confederated together under the title of the Venicnian nations, extended from Ballyshannon to the North Cape, and possessed all *Donegall* except the two whole divisions of *Raphoe* and *Enis-Owen* and the eastern *part of Kilmacrenen*.

16. The Venicnii lay along the immediate margin of the *shore*, giving name to the Promontorium Venicnium or Cape Horn, and to the Insula Venicnia or North Arran Island. And their metropolis, Rheba, was seated upon the lake Rhebius, and in the country of the Hardinii on the south-east.

17. Upon the northern shore and along the margin of the Deucaledonian Ocean were only the Robogdii, inhabiting the *rest of Donegall*, all *Derry*, and all *Antrim* to the Fair Head, and the Damnii, and giving their own name to the former and the division of *Raphoe;* and they had the rivers Vidua or Ship-harbour, Argitta or Arigta or Lough Swilly, Darabonna or Lough Foile, and Banna or Ban in their territories, and acknowledged Robogdium Robogh or Raphoe for their chief city.

18. The central region of the island, all *Tyrone*, the remainder of *Fermanagh* and *Letrim*, all *Monaghan* and the rest of *Ardmagh*, all *Cavan*, all *Longford* and all *West Meath*, all *King's* and *Queen's County*, all *Kilkenny*, and all *Tipperary* were planted by the Scoti. The Shannon, Lough Allin, and Lough Erne were their great boundaries on the west; the Barrow, Boyne, and Lough Neagh on the east; the Swire and the Blackwater on the south; and a chain of mountains on the north. And the two greatest of their towns were Rheba, a city seated, like the Rheba of the Venicnians, upon the lake and river Rhebius, but on a different part of them, and somewhere in the north of Cavan; and Ibernia, a town placed a little to the east of the Shannon, and somewhere in the county of Tipperary.

To revert to a previous remark, that it was not at all probable that the Romans would have permitted any males of the conquered races to remain in their own country serving

as soldiers. This, I think, may be accepted as an incontrovertible fact, and spoken to by many writers, and confirmed by the pages of the *Corpus Inscriptionum.* In that valuable book we have references to inscriptions which relate to soldiers who were "Vol," "Volu," "Volun," or Voluntiorum, which must of necessity refer to the men of the Irish tribe, Voluntii, who had settled either in Lancashire or had remained in the province of Ulster; if in the former, then deported to the continent to serve there, as found in the *Corpus;* if from Ulster, then accounted sufficiently foreign to be placed in Britain (Bruce Lap. Sep. 852).

I know that, for want of a better explanation, "Vol" and "Volun" have been said to have been Volones Volunteers; but there is a vast gap of time between B.C. 214, after the battle of Beneventum (Liv. xxii. 57, xxiv. 14-16, xxv. 20-22, xxvii. 38), when the residue of the eight thousand volones were rewarded with their freedom for their bravery, and the time of Ptolemy, some three hundred and fifty years (Ptol. ii. 2, § 9).

As to the Brigantes, Lucan, Martial, Statius, Pliny, Tacitus, and Seneca (all first century) agree with or give colour to the idea that the Brigantes of Britain or Albium were conquered by the Romans, and that the latter then became cognisant of the existence of the Caledonian Britons beyond them, further to the north. These Brigantes were then not only of the northern counties of England, including Lancashire, but also of Leinster; and the inscribed stone found at Mumerils (Brit. Hiib. 1091) belonged, in my opinion, to a native of Ireland.

According to Buchanan, cxliv., lib. ii., we find that the Brigantes, a great and powerful people beyond the Humber, possessed the whole breadth of England between the two seas. It is not assumed that they came from Gaul, but from Spain to Ireland; and, passing over to the nearest part of

Britain, peopled the district mentioned; that they were not Britons, but Brigantes from Ireland, appears from the satires of Seneca (*ob.* A.D. 65) upon the death of Claudius and his subsequent deification.

Ille Britannos	Ultra noti	Littora ponti
Et cæruleos	Scota Brigantes	Dare Romuleis.
Colla cathenis	Jussit, et ipsum	Novæ Romanæ,
Jura securis	Tremere oceanum	

The Britons, far beyond each travell'd shore,
They, too, the blue Scotabrigantes, bore
Thy chains; and e'en the trembling billows come
To own thy laws, new Founder of New Rome.

In the same way also the inscriptions, Brit. Hiib. 1291, whereon we find "Banna" and in 830 "Bannies" as well as in Brit. Hiib. 62, all probably point to men of a tribe from Banna, a place within the modern district of Raphoe, occupied at the time by the Rhobogdii. I am aware of the existence of a place invariably spelt with one "n," "Baniensis" in Narbo Cæsarea, but in the three instances (I think) that the name in any form occurs in Britain it is invariably spelt with two n's. In one case the name is Banna (occurring on a dish found at Rudge), identical with the place in Ireland, and so found in no other part of the world. Again, we find the Gangani in Connaught as well as in North Wales.

The Menapii in Leinster and Belgic Gaul, and the Monapii in the Isle of Man; and as to the latter being a portion of the former, I have shown that Orosius states that the Scots (Irish) also inhabited Mona.

There are other tribes of Irish natives originally of Parva Britannia to be found in Magna Britannia then as now. Take the Venicnii of Ulster and the Venicones of the county of Perth; the Darnii or Damnii of Ulster with their brethren in both the highlands and lowlands of Scotland; or the Cornabii of Cornwall, with their fellows in Strathnairn.

Individual soldiers of these peoples would be recorded as

of such a "nation," as "natione Brigantes," or of one of the twenty Britannic Legions composed of British youth serving abroad. I will give only one instance: Mommsen Gall. Cis. 7717. D . M . CATA VIGNI IVOMAGI F MILIT . COH III BRITANNORVM . &c. I would, therefore, conclude that if from our knowledge of the Roman military practice in general, it would be right to assume that in every particular case the same system would be carried out—and we know from the "Corpus" that it was, we can at once allocate many of the tribal and geographical names mentioned in that large but not exhaustive work, as being aggregations of units deported from Parva Britannia and Magna Britannia, to the various parts of the empire, where such inscribed stones have been found.

To the careful observer, it is plain to be seen that the great roads in Ireland must have been made by a powerful dominant people—such as the Romans—whilst garrisoning Ireland or Parva Britannia after its conquest, who, I assume, made the great roads which intersect the country in all directions (as those of England), and these roads are also in a great measure similar in construction to those made by that nation in Magna Britannia and about which there is not any question.

There, as in England, the conquered nations, and those surrounding them, have given names to places and roads in their several languages; so that, as in Wales we find "sarn elion," "the paved way of the legion," in Bohernaclogh we have "the road of the stones," or the paved road; or in Ballybother, "the town on the road;" and many more, such as "togher," a pavement; "clogher," stepping stones, are place names, or parts of such, which are sufficiently suggestive to us and point to an everlasting record of nineteen centuries of some great works executed by a preceding foreign and powerful race.

THE CHANTRY CHAPEL ON THE BRIDGE OF SALFORD.

BY THE REV. JAMES MOYES, ST. BEDE'S COLLEGE.

THE gentlemen to whose skill and research we owe the reproduction of Old Manchester and Salford* have included in their work, as representative of the religion of those times, an ancient Chantry Chapel, which stood upon a bridge built across the Irwell, at or near the present Victoria Bridge, between Manchester and Salford.

The true spirit of antiquarian research does not consist in merely looking back to the things of the past, and seeing them, as it were, from our nineteenth-century point of view, in the dim distance and through the long vista of centuries. It lies rather in changing our standpoint, in carrying it back into the midst of the times when these things existed, in casting ourselves wholly into the spirit of that age, and in endeavouring to see and feel all that we should have seen and felt had we been living in that period.

It is precisely in this historic spirit, and with this conscientious accuracy of standpoint and perspective, that the whole of this work of Old Manchester and Salford has been carefully constructed. I shall be glad if the paper which I

* This paper was read in the "Old Manchester and Salford" section of the Royal Jubilee Exhibition, Manchester, September 12th, 1887.

came from Hainault, the weaving trade, with its vast promise of a commercial future, has found its way to England and to Manchester. Looms are already actively at work, and the Flemings who have come over are being prized, petted, and lionised as the best benefactors of the country.

The Chantry.

It is at this point of Manchester history—this period of French wars and Flemish weavers—that the Chantry Chapel on the bridge first appears upon its records. There lived in those days, at Barton, a wealthy and pious yeoman, called Thomas Del Bothe. His piety probably influenced, as the piety of parents is wont to do, the character of his children. At all events, we find no less than four of his grandsons entering the priesthood, rising to the highest pre-eminence in the Church, and imitating his example in the founding of chantries like to that which we are about to describe. His grandson, Ralphe Boothe, was both Archdeacon of Durham and Archdeacon of York. Another grandson, John Boothe, was Warden of the Manchester College, became Bishop of Exeter, and ranks as one of the most saintly and munificent bishops of that see. A third grandson, William, was appointed by papal provision bishop of this diocese (then Lichfield and Coventry), and later on became Archbishop of York. A fourth, Laurence, was Dean of St. Paul's, then Bishop of Durham, Lord High Chancellor of England, and finally succeeded his brother in the Archbishopric of York.* The descendants of another branch of the family rose to like distinction in the state, and took their place in the peerage as Lords Delamere or Earls of Warrington.

* That Laurence Booth must have been high in favour at the Roman court is indicated by the fact that Pope Nicolas V. appointed him to the see of York, although the king had written to the pope specially commending his own chaplain, John Arundel, for that dignity (*Vide* Anglia Sacra *Hist. Dunelmensis*).

Thus the little chapel on the bridge comes to us as the work and memorial of one who was the founder of a pious and illustrious family, whose members take historic rank in the records of the country.

Thomas del Bothe made his will about two years before the date we have mentioned. St. Michael's day, the 29th September, was one of the great patronal feasts of Manchester. The will is dated on the Monday before the festival. It reads as follows:—

"First, I bequeath my soul to God, and to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to all his saints, and my body to be buried in the Church at Eccles, before the Altar of St. Katherine, with my best beast in the name of a mortuary."*

The words "with my best beast" refer to the custom of the times, by which, at the funeral mass of a knight or person of distinction, his horse or war steed was led in procession and offered as a gift to the Church, either for purposes of charity or that masses might be offered for his soul.† The custom which still obtains at certain military funerals, of leading the charger of the deceased after the hearse, is, I take it, a remnant of the mediæval practice.

The will continues: "To the bridge at Salford £30" (about £450 of our present money, applying the usual multiple of fifteen), "to be paid in the next three years by equal

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* By mortuary is meant a gift which it was customary to offer to the Church on behalf of a person deceased. It was supposed to supply for any deficiency of tithe which at the date of death might remain unpaid.

† In the description of the funeral of Henry VII. in Leland (*Collect.*, iv. 307), we find a reference to this custom. "There came ryding Sir Edward Howarde armed in complete harnes (his helmet except) upon a goodlie courser, trapped in black velvet, with the arms of England embroithered upon the same, which rode into the railes of the herse where he did alight, whome the said herauds incontinently received, whose horse was ymediatly delivered unto a servant of the Abbotts of Westminster." At the funeral of Radulph de Nevyll, in Durham Cathedral, in 1355, as many as eight horses fully caparisoned were offered (see *Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties*, p. 27).

portions. To two chaplains 100 marks" (£66. 13s. 4d., or about £1,000 present money), "to be paid before the altar of St. Katherine in the Church of Eccles, for the soul of King Edward III., and for the soul of Roger de Hulton, and for all benefactors of the said Thomas, to be taken for each chapel 5 marks" (£50) "for the next ten years next following."

From the tenor of this will, it seems likely that the bridge was already in existence or in course of construction; that the donation of £30, in three instalments, was for its completion, repair, or maintenance; that the chapel may have been already in use; and that the foundation of five marks yearly for ten years formed or fixed its character as a chantry.

By a statute of Edward III., property in real estate was not allowed to be alienated for religious foundations except by a licence of mortmain. When the licence was granted, the charter always contained the condition that the king should be prayed for amongst the founders.* This clause will account for the mention in the will of King Edward III. The de Hultons were a knightly family in the neighbourhood, who later on founded in the parish church St. James' Chantry in what is now called the Ducie or Strangeways Chapel. Sir Roger is included as a friend and benefactor of Thomas del Bothe, not impossibly as a co-founder with him in the sum left for the endowment of the chapel.

Of the chapel itself we know but little beyond the fact that it stood upon one of the piers of the bridge; that it was repaired in 1505; and that Leland, who saw it probably between 1530 and 1540, describes it as being "pretty and

* Thus in the charter for the collegiation of the parish church of Manchester, Henry V. stipulates that the priests of that church shall for ever offer mass "for our good estate here, and for our souls when we shall have from this life departed" [pro salubri statu nostro, et animabus nostris, cum ab hac luce migraverimus].

small." Thus for at least two centuries it sentinelled the bridge and held its place, if not as an important, yet as a familiar and prominent feature in the religious life of Manchester.

In this limited data we have before us but the merest outline of the structure. For the rest, as to what the chapel was like, what it contained, and what took place in it, we must be content to judge, as we are enabled to do with substantial accuracy, by analogies from what we know of other buildings of the same kind and of the same period.

Origin of Chapels and Chantries.

Here I may be allowed to say a few words upon chantry chapels in general. Moroni, following Walfridus Strabo, supports the account of the origin of the word given by the monk of St. Gall, who wrote the life of Charlemagne. It is said that amongst the relics preserved and venerated in the early church in France, one of the most prized was the cope or "cappa" of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours. St. Martin was a soldier and the patron of soldiers. It was the custom of the ancient French kings to have this cope carried with the army when going to war. The priests charged to carry and take care of the relic or "cappa" or "chape" were called *capellani* or *chapelains*, and the part of the encampment where the relic was temporarily kept was called the *capella* or *chapelle*. Others hold that any place where relics were kept became by the fact a place of prayer, and was called a *capella* from the capsa, the case or room in which relics were reposited. At all events the term was gradually extended to all oratories or shrines which in place or purpose were distinct from the parochial churches. The word occurs in Roman documents as far back as the year 460. But the thing itself is very much older than its name. We learn from the great work of Cavaliere De Rossi, *Roma Sotteranea*,

and also from one of his articles in the *Boletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, as well as from Padre Marchi's *I monumenti*, that mortuary chapels or cellae memoriae, viz., places over tombs in which the agape was held and prayers offered, are found in large numbers in the Catacombs. We gather from the Liber Pontificalis that Pope Felix (A.D. 260) ordered that masses should be celebrated in these cells or chapels. Chapels in the sense of a subsidiary place of worship—what the Greeks termed a parecclesia (παρεκκλεσία)—have been discovered in churches which date from the third or fourth century. Later on, when a chapel of this kind was built or endowed, in order that in it prayers might be said, or masses celebrated for the soul of the founder, it was called a capellania, or, in France, a *chapellenie*. (If founded by the king, it was known as a "*sainte chapelle*," such as we find at Paris, Vincennes, Dijon.) In England, the corresponding word would have been chapelry; but the more euphonious term of chantry or chantry chapel was used instead, no doubt from the fact that inside its walls the mass or offices were generally sung or chanted.

These foundations seem to have been very numerous in England, and to have held a prominent place in the religious life of the country. Some of the most ancient wills on record, and especially those of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, are largely filled with provisions for their establishment. Kings, archbishops, bishops, noblemen, priests, and wealthy laymen of every degree founded them in the cathedrals, in the monasteries, in the parish churches, and often in distinct buildings erected for the purpose. The Bishop of Ely in 1256, the Bishop of Exeter in 1308, and two Archbishops of York in the fifteenth century were founders of chantries. Perhaps the most notable instance of clerical founders was the great Bishop of Winchester, William of Wyckham, who made provision for a chapel in

which no less than three masses were to be daily offered for his soul. In St. Paul's, London, there were upwards of a hundred chantries—eventually compounded into thirty-five. In Manchester there were at least six chantries in the parish church, besides two in other parts of the town. In England, before the dissolution under Henry VIII., the number of chantries ranged between two and three thousand.

Chantry Laws.

Canonists, who are never so happy as when dividing, defining, and classifying, distinguish two kinds of chantries as far as structure is concerned. There are chantries *sub tecto*, or built under the roof of the parish church. Such were the chantries in which are now known as the Chetham, the Derby, the Stanley, the Byrom, the Hulme, the Ducie, and the Trafford Chapels in the parish church of Manchester. The second class consists of chantries *sub dio*, or "under the sky," viz., standing apart as a separate building, like the chantry on the bridge, and another small chapel which stood probably in Millgate, and which is mentioned in the inquisition of 1535. Chantries were moreover classified according to the terms of their foundation, and were called *collative* when the bishop selected and appointed the chaplain, and *juris patronatûs* when the founder had the right of presenting the chaplain, whom the bishop would institute, unless for some good reason he objected to the person presented.

The canon law contains innumerable rules minutely laid down for the interpretation of chantry foundation deeds. We have also repeatedly decrees from Rome regulating the duties and obligations of the chantry priests, and especially monitions safeguarding the authority of the bishop, and declaring *ipso facto* null and void any clause in any foundation which would limit his right to reject unfit presentations.

All chantries were declared to be subject to the canonical visitation of the bishop. There also seems to have been an anxiety on the part of the Church that all such foundations should preserve their character as purely free offerings, as she enacted a very strict law commanding that in no case and under no pretext whatsoever should the founding of a chantry be ever imposed or enjoined on the laity as a matter of penance.*

There was besides another class of chantries known to canon law as *temporaria.* Any layman might, if he so pleased, build a chapel, and, by licence of the bishop, secure the services of a priest to offer mass there for his intention. This was regarded purely as an arrangement between the founder and the priest; and the Church did not intervene except when appealed to through the ordinary tribunals. Such foundations were not recognised as benefices, and might consequently be bought or sold without incurring the penalties and censures attaching to simony.†

Chapels on Bridges.

We now leave the canonists and return to the chantry which stood upon the bridge at Salford. First of all, we may ask: Why was it built on the bridge?

In the olden time, bridge making and mending was held to be a duty of piety and charity. The name of Pontifex given to the chief pagan priest at Rome marks the early association of bridge construction with religion. In Christian times, and in a period when the crossing of our rivers was not unattended with danger, it certainly came to be regarded as a work of public charity and generosity, very much as the lifeboat service is in our own day. Thus in the ancient penitential of St. Dunstan, the building of bridges and

* De Ferraris. Bergier. Dictionnaire, Jus Can. Schmalzgrueber.
† Bibliotheca Prompta, Canonica, &c. Ferraris. Dizionario. Moroni.

mending of roads are laid down amongst the duties of charity which the rich owe to the poor. Like all works of charity in the middle ages, it came under the cognizance of the Church, and for it, as well as for other great works of public beneficence, indulgences were granted to all who would join or help in it. We find, for instance, in the registers of this diocese—then Lichfield and Coventry—that indulgences of forty days were granted to all who would assist in building the bridges at Wolsley, Yoxall, Oreton, Aston, Packington, and Howbridge. For such public works of permanent need or nature the church guilds fulfilled the functions of standing committees. Guilds or confraternities of men banded themselves together and undertook to build or to keep in repair the bridge of their native town. They took it in turn to watch over it and keep it clean. Like all guilds of the period, they had their own chapel, which they generally built upon the bridge or at the bridge end. Here they joined together in certain devotions, had their rules read over to them, collected alms for the sick and poor, and prayed for their absent or deceased brethren. Their chapel was left open during the day, and in those olden times, when the march of life was somewhat more leisurely than it is to-day, people in crossing the bridge generally went in for a few minutes to pray. Moreover, the chapel had its chaplain, who presided over the guild, and who said mass at the early dawn, so that travellers might assist at it before setting out on their journey. We find such chapels on London Bridge (where there was a very famous chapel dedicated to St. Thomas), and on the bridges at York, Sheffield, Lincoln, Leeds, Wakefield, Warrington, Durham, Rochester, Salisbury, Rotherham, Droitwich, Bradford, Derby, Bedford, and many other places.

The Chantry Chapel at Salford was, therefore, but one of many that mounted guard on the bridges throughout Eng-

land. Of it, as we have seen, Leland says but little; but in another part of his *Itinerary* he describes a somewhat similar structure, and we may be allowed to quote his account as casting a certain measure of reflected light on the one we are examining. Speaking of the bridge at Bedford-upon-Turege, he says: "The bridge is a very notable work, and hath 24 arches of stone. A poor priest began this bridge. . . . Then all the country about set their hands unto the performing of it, and since, lands hath been given to the maintenance of it There standeth a fair chapel of Our Lady, *transpontem*, at the very end of it, and there is a fraternity in the town for the preservation of this bridge, and one waiteth continually to keep the bridge clean from all dirt" (*Itin.*, vol. ii., fol. 67).

Sir Richard Hoare, in his *History of Salisbury*, describes how a bridge and chapel were built over the Avon at Salisbury, how mass was said there at dawn every morning, and how it had an hospital for aged and infirm people attached to it.

When Thomas Del Booth leaves a sum of money to the "Bridge at Salford" and another to be paid to a chaplain, we may at least hazard the conjecture that the chapel and chaplain already in some form existed, and that the bridge, like that of so many other places, was under the care of a religious guild or fraternity, although for the supposition I have not been able to find any local or direct evidence. In any case, the effect of his will was to cause prayers or masses to be there said for his soul, and thus its chaplain became a chantry priest, and the chapel became a chantry.

The Doctrinal Idea of Chantries.

When we proceed to examine the Chantry Chapel, which was but one of a thousand like foundations of that period, and especially when we seek to take in the meaning of its

interior arrangements, we should be attempting a difficult if not an impossible task, unless we bear in mind the religious convictions of the time, and take intelligent account of the beliefs and motives which were present to the minds of men like Del Booth when they called such foundations into existence, and willingly set aside large portions of their wealth and lands for their endowment. These religious convictions form the key and the clue to what we are investigating, and without them all treatment of the subject would be hopelessly superficial, and the chapel and its furniture, which, by the courtesy of your society, I have been requested to describe and explain, would remain, to a large extent, a meaningless maze and mystery.

You will bear with me, then, if for a moment I find myself in the necessity of speaking of doctrines; not, of course, in any way as advocating them, or of discussing their truth or falseness—with that for the nonce we have nothing to do—but treating them merely as so many historical facts and features of the period, and only in so far as they go to furnish us with the *rationale* of the acts and objects which we have to investigate.

I suppose that all forms of religion have each some grand central conviction which forms the main thought of its belief and the mainspring of its public life and worship—a conviction which is, so to speak, the sun of the religious system around which all its other tenets revolve, upon which all its other doctrines depend, and which gives shape, character, and impulse to the entire movement.

In the Catholic Church, in the period with which we are dealing, this supreme central dogma, the keystone of both her theology and liturgy, is the Atonement of Christ as made upon the cross and perpetuated in the mass. That is, first, the Church believes that the Atonement made by Christ on the cross is the one sole source of all glory to God, and of

all grace and salvation to man. (Thence, we take it, that continual presentation to the eyes of the multitude of crosses and crucifixes, on altars, churches, market places, fountains, and on the highways and byeways of the country, which forms so prominent a feature in middle-age archæology.) Secondly, the Church holds that Christ continues, perpetuates, and extends to all times and places the sacrifice of the Atonement in the sacrifice of the mass; viz., that Christ, who offered himself on the cross, daily offers himself on the altar, and that therefore the sacrifice of the mass is absolutely one and the same with that of the cross, and therefore equal in power, value, and efficacy with it.

Such is the doctrine which we find in the standard theological works, the sermons, the catechisms of that time, and which later on were more fully and formally defined by the Council of Trent.

As I have said, we are not at all concerned just now with the truth or falseness of these doctrines, but solely with their results in so far as they serve to cast light upon the customs and institutions of that time. In that view, and in so far as the knowledge may afford an insight into certain fields of antiquarian research, there are three direct consequences of this doctrine to which I would especially draw your attention.

The first is the idea of *efficacy*. The mass was believed to be *par excellence* the Action of Christ, identical with his atonement, and therefore above and beyond all things else in efficacy of merit. As such, it was held that nothing could be more glorifying to God or more beneficial to man than that mass should be offered and that man should take part in it. It was believed that it added to the accidental happiness of the blessed in heaven, that it gave relief and consolation to souls in purgatory, that it brought down blessing and grace to all mankind upon earth. In view of this doctrine, and of this belief in the transcendent efficacy

of the mass, you who have so frequently under your hands the remains and records of the past will readily understand why the mass held such a supreme place in the public worship of the land; why careful provision for masses, obits, &c., enter so largely into all the wills and testaments of the period; and, lastly, how these beliefs, deep rooted as they were in the minds of Manchester men like Thomas del Booth, or Manchester women like Isabel Chetham, made directly for that system of chantries which was gradually interwoven with the parochial ministration in England.

The second effect to which I would call your attention is the idea of *presence.* As the mass was believed to be the Act of Christ, involving his real presence, and in his saving efficacy, it was believed to be the greatest act which could take place upon earth. Thence it was held that no architecture was too grand, no adornment too beautiful, no vestment too costly, no ceremonial too stately, no music too sublime or majestic with which to surround it and accompany it. That, to those of us who may be interested in either the architectural or liturgical remains of the middle ages, explains why so much ornamentation was lavished upon the church, still more upon the sanctuary than on the church, more upon the altar than the sanctuary, and why the same principle of concentration—the orientation of presence—governed not only the material fabric, but also the vesture and movement of the liturgy.

The third effect—and one which, to every antiquarian who does not exclude things ecclesiastical from his researches, 'll have its importance — is the use and direction of *ymbolism.*

'y symbolism I mean that arrangement by which the ...ble things of public worship are so shaped as to signify or express certain doctrines, and thus serve as a means of preserving those doctrines and of presenting them continually

to the minds of the people. As the mass was believed to be the same sacrifice as that of the cross, both the structure of the church and all the externals of the liturgy were of a kind which constantly recalled the Atonement on the cross and the other sacrifices mentioned in scripture, which were believed to prefigure it. This idea will give to us the key of all that minute and elaborate symbolism which enters into the very walls of our churches and into every fibre of the liturgy, and without the knowledge of which a Catholic church or a Catholic ceremony must always remain more or less of an enigma to the uninitiated.

The Chantry on the Bridge.

And now we proceed to visit the Chantry Chapel and its chaplain. In all probability the chantry is a building of two stories. The chapel itself must have been in the upper. An ordinance of the Church prescribes, from a motive of reverence, that mass may be said over a dwelling place, but not under it. In that case, access to the chapel would probably be from the bridge by means of a short staircase to the upper storey. The lower room would be used for meetings of the guild, possibly as the house of the chantry priest. This under room was probably very low down in the bridge, near the level of the river. At least, it has been stated that, in later years, when the chapel was used as a dungeon, prisoners confined in it were often in danger of being drowned by the rising of the Irwell.

The Chantry Priest.

In the chapel we find the chantry priest. Although amongst the chantry priests were often to be found the sons of some of the noblest and wealthiest families, yet as a class, as we might expect, they did not rank in equal importance with the parochial clergy. He has been educated first at

some of the grammar schools, then at some of the cathedral schools of theology, not improbably at one of the universities. His education would include a good knowledge of Latin from the classical authors, a course of philosophy on the Aristotelian method, a course of scholastic theology probably based on the Summa of St. Thomas, and some knowledge of canon law, of scripture and liturgy, which would go to make up that *scientia sufficiens*, without which, according to the laws of the Church, he could not receive ordination. He enjoys a yearly income of about five marks, or £50 of our present money, a sum which in those times meant a competence, with some degree of comfort, but nothing to spare. Like all the secular clergy, he is addressed by prefixing "Sir" to his name, as knights and baronets still are, viz., if his name be John Chorlton, he will be known and spoken of as Sir John Chorlton. He wears the square cloth cap which we see so often in portraits of that period. The cap of the people was round; the cap of the clergy and university scholars in England, as throughout Europe, was square and almost flat on the surface. By constant use in donning and doffing it, the corners became raised, and by a gradual process of evolution, the stages of which may be traced in the portraits of the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, it developed into that square, three-cornered biretta worn by the clergy at the present day. His hair is moderately short; an ordinance of the Church forbids him to wear it long, at least not so long as to conceal the ears, after the fashion of that time. He wears a cassock reaching to his ankles; it is probably of dark colour. Later on, we find the clergy reminded by a general council that the black robe which they wear is to constantly keep them in mind of the vow by which they are to be dead to the world. His cassock is bound at the waist by a leathern belt or surcingle, from which is suspended his

penner or writing materials; possibly also a small, ornamental dagger, which was a recognised mark of gentility, and worn even by ladies and children at that time. Later on, a council of the Church commands him to put aside his dagger, however innocently small or ornamental it may be. His feet are encased in shoes, probably of buff-coloured leather, the toes just giving a promise of that pointedness which was so dear to the heart of the fifteenth century. If it is winter, he is sure to have over his cassock a dark, loose gown, with wide, open sleeves, the edges of the gown and sleeves trimmed with those furs which became so fashionable in the clerical world when the Roman court moved to the colder climate of Avignon.

The Chantry Priest's Office.

And now a word as to his daily life and duties. It is late at night, and we find him in his chapel, reciting from his *Cursus* or *Portiforium*—since then called the *Breviary*—the office of Matins and Lauds for the following day. Were he a monk, he would have had to rise some time after midnight to recite with his brethren this part of the office, and so fulfil the words of the Psalmist, "In the midst of the night I have risen to confess to Thee." As he is not a monk, but a secular priest, and presumably in need of his night's rest, the Church allows him to say it the evening before. He begins by saying the Our Father, the creed, a psalm *(Venite exultemus)*, a hymn, then three psalms, the Our Father, and three lessons from scripture, each followed by responses, or passages from scripture; that formed what is called the first watch, or nocturn. Then three psalms, the Our Father, and three lessons from the life of some saint; which made up the second nocturn. Then three psalms, the Our Father, a short passage from the gospel, and three lessons from a homily explaining it, then the *Te Deum;* which closes the

office of Matins, or Uht-song, as it used to be called in the Anglo-Saxon days. Next he begins Lauds, which in the monasteries were said just as day was at the dawning, and which include the psalm, "O God, my God, to Thee do I watch at the break of day" (*Deus, Deus meus, ad Te de luce vigilo*). This part of his office contains five psalms of praise, a chapter of scripture, probably a hymn, and then certain prayers, generally followed by a customary anthem to the Blessed Virgin.* This finished, he puts aside his *Portiforium*, arranges his altar for the following day, trims his sanctuary lamp, closes the chantry doors for the night, and retires to rest on his slanting, fourteenth-century bed, with its straw mattress and its huge projecting canopy.

Next morning, it is six o'clock. At the parish church the bell is tolling for the first mass—the Mary mass, as it is called—the bell to which, in another place, William the Conqueror listened so prayerfully when he was dying (*Orderic. Vital.* lib. vii.). Sundry parishioners are hurrying over the bridge to be present at this mass, which is going to be said in the Lady Chapel, now called, I think, the Chetham Chapel, in the parish church.† At this hour the chantry

* This description of the liturgical office recited by the clergy in the fourteenth century is based on the following sources: (1) Tractatus de Officiis Eccl., from MSS. preserved at Salisbury Cathedral; date, early thirteenth century. (2) An Ordinal of the Sarum use in the British Museum (early fourteenth century). (3) A Sarum Portiforium in the reign of Henry VIII. (Chetham Library), which is fairly typical of the fourteenth-century office, as liturgiologists agree that no structural change of any importance took place in the office from the time of St. Osmund to 1549. (4) The treatise of Amalarius (A.D. 832). De eccles. officiis and the Codex Wigorniensis, which, taken with the fact that the Council of Clovishoe ordered the adoption of the Roman usage in 747, go to show that the office in Anglo-Saxon times was substantially the same as that regulated by St. Osmund and used until the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

† In certain chantry deeds we find it stipulated that the chantry priest shall say mass daily in the parish church, but before the hour "when the parishioners are wont to come." From this, as from the Book of Courtesye and other sources, we gather that the practice of assisting at daily mass largely obtained in the parishes of England.

priest says his office of Prime—the morning prayer of the Church: Our Father, creed, four psalms, a short chapter from scripture, and certain prayers. A little before nine he probably begins his office of Tierce, or Undern, as it was called: Our Father, three psalms, a chapter of scripture, and a prayer. When he has completed this part, he says, kneeling, certain prayers in preparation for his mass. Those in the York Missal and in Sarum Missal of 1521 are the same as used at the present day.

Interior of the Chapel.

While he is thus engaged, let us look into the chapel. A few people are kneeling around, waiting for mass to begin. We are not yet in the age of printing, and but few of them have been taught to read. They use such prayers as their own piety may suggest, or those which they have learned by heart, such as the Our Father, Hail Mary, the creed. (Bishop Stavenby, of this diocese or Coventry, in 1237, orders that everyone should say daily seven times the Our Father and the Hail Mary, and twice the creed.) They probably use the rosary beads, since "pars of beads" or "pars of Pater Nosters" are often mentioned in the wills of the period (Will of Sir Thomas Ughtred, 1398, "lego j par de Paters noster de auro"). From the *Lay Folks Mass Book* they have been taught how to follow the liturgy, and in their youth most of them will have been instructed in Archbishop Thoresby's Catechism, which was approved by convocation in 1357. A glance at the *Lay Folks Mass Book*, so popular in England at this time, will give a very fair picture of the devotion of the laity at this period.

The end of the chapel is railed off for the sanctuary. Inside the sanctuary, raised on three steps, stands the altar. The altar is covered with three altar cloths.* In the midst

* Constitutions of Westminster, A.D. 1229.

is an altar stone containing relics, so that the Church may keep up her primitive practice of celebrating over the tombs of the martyrs.* On the altar a bookstand with a Missal, according to the use of Sarum.† In the centre is probably a tabernacle, in which is a silver vessel or pyx which contains the Holy Eucharist, which is there reserved.‡ The presence of the Eucharist is denoted by a sanctuary lamp burning before the altar.‖ On either side of the crucifix are arranged the candlesticks and wax lights.§ Wax is very expensive in these days, and, to defray the cost, Whitaker tells us that a tax called the leot-shot was collected in this parish of Manchester three times every year.

The altar, raised above the ground and surmounted by the crucifix, is to symbolise Mount Calvary, or the "Holy Mountain" mentioned in scripture. Thence it is railed off or fenced, like Mount Sinai, to which Moses ascended to effect the reconciliation of God with his people. The sanctuary inside the church, and the tabernacle inside the sanctuary, symbolise the triple division or concentration of outer court, court of tabernacle, and holy of holies, which obtained in the Jewish temple. The crucifix is to remind the people that Christ died for them, and the wax-lights¶ are to denote that Christ is the light of the world.

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* Pontificale Egberti, fol. xxxviii.

† The Constitutions of this diocese, in 1428, require the observance of the use of Sarum, which obtained over the greater part of England. In all probability the use had prevailed here for centuries previous to that date. (The Sarum use is a form or slight modification of the Roman rite, regulated by St. Osmund in the eleventh century, and based on the Roman Sacramentaries of Popes Gregory and Galasius.)

‡ "In every parish shall be a tabernacle, with a door to shut, in which It is to be placed in a pyx lined with linen" (Statutes of John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1281).

‖ The statutes of Bishop Cantilupe, in 1240, required that in all churches that could afford it "a lamp must burn day and night before the Eucharist."

§ Regist. St. Osmundi (early thirteenth-century MSS.).

¶ The statutes of this diocese (Lichfield), in 1195, required four wax lights during mass, and ten on the great altar.

Around the chapel, and probably embroidered on the vestments, will be some of the armorial bearings of the founders.* These were not without use, as, in defect of title deeds, these insignia were recognised in the ecclesiastical courts as evidence that the chapel belonged to its founder. Over the altar there is probably a board or tapestry, with the names of those for whom the chantry priest is to pray.†

The Chantry Priest's Vestments and Mass.

Now let us watch the chantry priest as he vests himself for mass. Having finished his prayers of preparation,‡ he washes his hands at the piscina, and then takes either from the altar or from a small chest beside it (it was then customary to vest at the altar) a square, linen cloth, called an amice, which he puts over his shoulders. He puts on the alb ("albe or aube"), a long, white, linen garment, which reaches to the ground, and which in the fourteenth century is sure to be ornamented with an orfrey, or embroidered square in front. He binds the alb with a girdle round his waist. Then he puts on the stole, crossing it in front of his breast.‖ On his left arm he puts a small stole or maniple,

* Thus in the inventory of church goods in Manchester parish church is mentioned a vestment of green bow dekin (baldacchino or cloth of gold) branched with bears. These were used in the Chantry Chapel of Bishop Stanley, whose crest contained the bears of the house of Warwick.

† In the deed of a chantry founded by Laurence Booth, Archbishop of York, in the church of Eccles, it is stipulated that "a decent boarde or table shall be provided to contain the names of . . . and the said board shall be placed above the altar of St. Katherine, so that the chaplains may see it and daily pray for those whose names are contained in it."

‡ "The priest having confessed, and said Matins, Prime, and Tierce (Council of Oxford, 1222), says the prayers of preparation and washes his hands, saying a prayer."—Low Mass from the eleventh to sixteenth century in the Introduction to "Sarum Missal in English," edited by the Church Society.

‖ John de Burgo, rector of Collingham in 1385, in the *Pupilla Oculi*, says that the stole "is crossed on the breast to remind us that we must not be ashamed of the cross of Christ or afraid to suffer for it." A Salisbury Missal of 1395 represents the stole crossed on the breast.

which in fourteenth-century inventories is generally called a "favell" or "phano." Finally, over all he puts the chasuble, or cloak-like vestment, with a large cross embroidered on the back. During all this time he has been reciting the hymn to the Holy Ghost—*Veni Creator Spiritus.*

Here, again, we are met by the principle of symbolism. The Church has in view to keep priest and people in mind of the sameness of the sacrifice of the mass with the sacrifice of the cross, and therefore, so to speak, clothes the priest with the memorials of the Passion. The amice represents the white cloth with which Christ was blindfolded; the alb, the white garment in which Herod mocked Him; the girdle, the cord with which He was bound to the pillar; the stole and maniple, the cords with which He was led to Pilate; the chasuble the purple, seamless garment in which he was led to crucifixion. Again, the Church has in view to teach that the priest is the representative or agent of Christ, and to remind him that he should be adorned with the virtues of Christ. Thus, the amice (originally worn on the head) symbolises the virtue of faith, "the helmet of salvation;" the alb, or white garment, innocence and purity; the girdle which binds the waist, self-denial or mortification; the stole, authority or power; the maniple, sorrow for sin; and the chasuble, which covers all, charity.*

Thus clothed with the symbols of Christ and His passion, the chantry priest proceeds to the altar, which, we have already seen, by its structure, represents Mount Calvary, and the other places of sacrifice in which that of the Atonement is held to be prefigured.

In the little oratory upstairs, which forms part of this exhibition, the altar and sanctuary have been carefully constructed, and portions of mass vestments, dating from the

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* Card. Bona. Rer. Liturg.

fifteenth century, have been hung up for inspection. I have ventured to dwell thus lengthily upon the principles and details of symbolism, because I think that we must all feel that it is due to the intelligent care and courtesy which its architects have employed in its construction, that we, on our part, should endeavour, not only to see, but to understand as fully as possible, the chapel and its furniture, and as nearly as may be enter into its *rationale* with that insight of the insider which would have been ours had we lived in the period of which it presents so graphic a representation. Moreover, I have felt that my task here to-night has been to trace its history, to explain and describe it; and I conceive that, apart from the principles of symbolism upon which I have touched, any adequate description of its interior would have been hopelessly impossible.

The mass proceeds, and whether the chantry priest uses the Missal of York or of Sarum, the order will be substantially the same, the canon almost verbatim, as the mass at the present day. At the consecration, the "sacring" bell is tolled, and the people bend down in adoration.* At the

* The Council of Durham, 1221, directs the people to kneel during mass. The Sarum rite requires the choir to kneel from the Preface to the Communion. "The parishioners should be exhorted that, at the elevation of Christ, they do not bend irreverently, but kneel and adore their Creator. . . . To this they shall be excited beforehand by the ringing of a little bell, and at the Elevation, the great bell should be struck thrice." Bishop Peter Quivil of Exeter, in 1287 (Wilkins, II, 131). "At the elevation of the Body of the Lord, a bell must be struck on one side so that the people who are unable to be present daily at the celebration of mass, wherever they may be in the fields or at home, may kneel down and gain the indulgences granted by many bishops." Council of Lambeth, in 1281.

"When time is near of sakering
A little bell men use to ring
Then shalt thou do reverence
To Jesus Christ's own presence."

Lay Folks Mass Book.

Hugh Patteshull, bishop of this diocese in 1239, issued an ordinance to the same effect.

sound, even passers-by on the bridge outside will stop for a few minutes and bend the knee in adoration. At the close, the blessing is given, and the people depart down the staircase to their various avocations.

The Chantry Priest's Office, continued.

At noon, the chantry priest is again at his office. He recites Sext, viz., Our Father, three psalms, a short chapter from scripture, and a prayer. I may remark that the liturgy of his mass and that of his office are bound up and interwoven, so that the latter is as it were the continuation and expansion of the former. Thus the gospel and epistle and collects which he said at mass will probably recur in portions during the various hours of his office. At three o'clock he recites None—Our Father, three psalms, chapter, and prayer. Towards sunset he says Vespers—Our Father, five psalms, a chapter, probably a hymn, then the *Magnificat*, followed by a prayer. Finally, he says Complin, or the night prayer of the Church. It consists of the general confession, four psalms, a chapter, the *Nunc dimittis*, a prayer, and last, blessing; after which it was customary to say or sing an anthem to the Blessed Virgin—the "Vesper Hymn," of which poets occasionally remind us. He has now finished his office for the day. If he has followed the cursus of Sarum or York (which is substantially the same as the Roman), he will have been occupied at various intervals during some two hours in a service, prayer, and praise, nine-tenths of which he has taken from holy scripture. The present office, arranged in the same way, but considerably shortened at the time of the Council of Trent, occupies us one hour and a quarter. The fourteenth-century office would be notably longer.

It is very possible that besides this office, he may be required to say for his founders the office of the dead, the

Matins of which begin with the antiphon "dirige," and gave origin to our English word "dirge." Thus the chaplains of Laurence Booth's chantry had to say the "Placebo (Vespers) and Dirige (Matins) and Commemoracion," or prayer for a deceased bishop, which the archbishop himself in this case composed and prescribed.

Or, the chantry priest, by the decree mentioned in Lyndwood's *Provinciale* (p. 70), may be compelled to join the clergy in the choir celebration of the divine offices at the parish church, in which case he would have the same office as that we have described, except that he would have to sing or chant it instead of saying it, and that the altar would be lighted up during each part of it, and solemnly incensed during the *Magnificat*,* with its versicle, "Let my prayer ascend, O Lord, like incense in Thy sight" (Ps. cxl. 2).

Moreover, besides his mass and his office, which are the chief duties of his position, the chantry priest may possibly have other duties appended to his chapelry. He may have to visit an hospital, or teach in the grammar school or assist the parochial clergy in the ministration of the sacraments.†

Thus his day, on the whole, will have been fairly filled up, and his time divided between working for the living and praying for the dead.

The Chantry Priest's House.

Last of all, we pay a visit to his dwelling. A very simple apartment. A large fireplace, with billet or brushwood burning on the hearth. Probably a clay floor overstrewn with rushes. Around the walls are arranged a few articles of rude kitchen ware. The following is an inventory of the house of a chantry priest at Eccles, at the period we men-

* Tractatus de Divinis Officiis, Salisbury (early thirteenth century).
† Raines, Lancashire Chantries.

tion, and as his income was almost the same as that of the chantry priest at the bridge, their dwellings would not be much dissimilar:—

3 brass potts.
3 old brass pans.
13 pieces of pewter.
i. brandreth of iron.
ii. broches of iron.
i. chasse Dish of latten.
ii. keires of wood.
iii. stands of wood.
i. ewer and basin.
one garden.
one orchard.
one croft, let for 5s.

Thus, had we dined with the chantry priest, a billet of wood would have been put on the fire, and the flesh meat (which would have cost three halfpence per pound) would have been boiled in one of the brass pots or fried on one of the old brass pans, or roasted on the iron grid (brandreth) or on one of the spits (broches). When cooked, it would have been placed on the great chasse-dish made of refined brass (latten). We should have been served on one of the pieces of pewter, taken from one of the three stands of wood. The ewer and basin would have been used for holding water; but ale—possibly, but not so probably, wine—would have been drawn from one of the two wooden keires or casks. Fish taken from the Irwell or eels from the Irk would have surely found a place in the *ménu*, and fruit and vegetables from the "one garden" would not have been wanting.

From his window we should possibly have seen the "croft," which he has let to a neighbouring farmer for what in our money would be £2. 5s. a year. Thus, in a little world of peace and prayer, and in a happy mean between poverty

and plenty, the line of chantry priests would have passed their days in the little chapel on the bridge, until at last came the suppression of all such institutions in the sixteenth century. Later on, the chapel was used as a dungeon, and finally it with its bridge passed away, and men saw it no more upon the face of Manchester.

We now take our leave of the days of King Edward III. Since then the ages have rolled over, and brought to men and nations their freight of joy and sorrow and change. We have passed into the newer, broader, and brighter paths of the nineteenth century. The waters of the Irwell have grown darker and denser since the days when they swept under the chapel and the bridge. The little group of buildings around the old parish church has expanded into a vast city that hardly knows its own limits, and merges into a constellation of towns that are at once the sharers and the feeders of its huge commercial industry. Yet there is that which is not changed. The same energy and enterprise, which, even in the days of Leland, made Manchester "the quickest town in Lancastreshire," is still actively pulsating in our midst. How that that living tide of vigour has swelled, in volume and velocity, we have eloquent witnesses in this great Jubilee Exhibition in which we are gathered together this evening, and which registers, so to speak, the high-water mark of Manchester talent and energy.

The genius which has made Manchester so great is far too great to rest content with such victories as can be won in the field of merely human greatness. By the very impulse of its own greatness it will ever feel the prompting to look above and beyond it. The race and the place which gave to the world men like Thomas del Bothe will never fail to furnish many of his fibre; and while such men live and move in our midst, God's help and God's blessing can never be far distant or long wanting.

THE CITADEL OF THE GERMAN KNIGHTS.*

BY PROF. ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD, LITT.D., LL.D.

I DO not know whether the bare title under which this address has been announced — "The Citadel of the German Knights"—conveys its meaning to many of you. There certainly was a day when it would not have fallen altogether flat upon English ears. Henry of Bolingbroke, who afterwards, as Duke of Lancaster and Hereford, challenged and gained the crown and realm of England, vacated by the deposition of his redeless cousin, Richard of Bordeaux, in his eager and adventurous youth, saw many strange men and lands; and though neither then nor afterwards he was able to carry out his wish of visiting the Holy Sepulchre in person, yet he smote many an infidel, and among them the heathen Prussians, against whom he rode forth with the Teutonic Knights from their citadel near the shores of the Gulf of Danzig. And even in his day there

* Besides the ordinary authorities on early Prussian history, I have used for this address Treitschke's essay, *Das deutsche Ordensland Preussen*, in vol. i. of his *Historische und Politische Aufsätze;* A. L. Ewald, *Die Eroberung Preussens durch die Deutschen*, I. Buch (Halle, 1872); R. Bergau, *Das Ordenshaupthaus Marienburg in Preussen* (Berlin, 1871); and a good illustrated guide to the Marienburg, by M. Rosenheyn (Leipzig, 1858).

was nothing altogether novel in this particular line of adventure; for when the courtly poet who certainly owed something of his worldly prosperity to the prudent John of Gaunt's prudent son, and to John of Gaunt himself,—when Chaucer was drawing the picture of a knight of the old school, not a mere carpet knight of his own latter days, he said of him, as we all remember, that

> Ful often time he hadde the bord begonne
> Aboven alle nations in Pruce,
> In Lettowe hadde he reysed* & in Ruce.

Now, the real personage who had sat for the portrait of Chaucer's knight, or rather for that painted by the French poet, Guillaume Machault, whom Chaucer copied, was King John of Bohemia, the blind king who fell at Creçy, charging the English ranks on his horse tied to the horses of his fellow-knights, and shouting "Praha" (Prague), as he had shouted it on more than one Lithuanian field. He lost the use of his eyes, which had always been weak, among the winter fogs of those districts; and showed his royal temper afterwards by ordering a French oculist, who tried in vain to cure him, to be drowned in the Oder.† The exploits of the blind King John and of Henry of Bolingbroke after him among the Baltic heathen were quite in the fashion of their day, when the Crusades to the East had come to an end, but when the spirit which had prompted them—a spirit of adventure sanctified by religious emotion—had not yet been extinguished. In those times no body of men enjoyed so high a reputation as a school of chivalry and high emprise as the Order whose citadel was the mighty castle of which I wish to speak to you to-night; and kings, princes, and the

* To *reyse* is to travel, to make an expedition, and seems to have been used as a quasi-technical term of knights travelling in quest of adventure, knights errant.

† Palacky, *Geschichte von Böhmen*, iii. 225-6.

flower of the martial manhood of the age thought it an honour to be more or less closely associated with its members, and to take part in their company in those expeditions against the pagan *(Heidenfahrten)* which sallied forth, as for the lordly diversion of the chase, in honour of the distinguished guests of the *Marienburg*.

The *Marienburg* or Castle of St. Mary, from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards the chief citadel and central seat of the Knights of the Teutonic Order or German Knights, rears its head to this day as incomparably the most massive and impressive extant monument of mediæval chivalry. I say impressive, not magnificent—for there is a stern economy about the edifice, which is not the least characteristic of its features. It is accessible enough to the modern traveller; indeed, the town clustering round it is a station on the main line of railway which leads from Berlin to Königsberg, and so on to the Russian frontier and St. Petersburg; and at Marienburg there is a junction by which, just like the knights of old, you may take, as I remember taking in the days of my enquiring youth, a short cut into Poland. But, then, the people who travel into Russian Poland for pleasure are few and far between; and as for the Berlin-Königsberg route to St. Petersburg, the only possible train within the twenty-four hours goes by night, when darkness covers the vast plains of the Vistula and conceals impartially the achievements of the mediæval architect and of the modern engineer. For, when about thirty miles south of Danzig and twenty west of Elbing, the train crosses the Nogat, a tributary of the Vistula, it passes over a mighty lattice-work iron bridge, similar in construction to that which crosses the Vistula itself at Dirschau; and among the towers and outworks included among the military defences of this bridge (of which we might perhaps hear some interesting news in the event of certain European complications finding

an unpleasant solution) is the old Buttermilk-Tower, which helped to guard the outer wall of the knights' citadel, where it was washed by the river. The name has a pastoral sound, notwithstanding the awful legend; according to which a cruel Grand Master forced the peasants to make the lime for the building of this tower with buttermilk instead of water; probably, however, it dates from the much later Polish times, and simply commemorates the imprisonment in the tower of peasants who had failed to furnish a satisfactory supply of buttermilk, or of butter *and* milk, to their masters. At the present day the round Buttermilk-Tower stands isolated from the rest of the citadel, as the whole of the external fortifications of the castle *(Vorburg)*, which extended for the better part of a mile between the riverside and the outer foss, have been laid level, or have been used up as materials for the modern buildings now covering the ground. What traces of these walls and works remain, show them to have been like the citadel itself of brick. "*Margenburg*," says a lumbering old hexameter, "*ex luto, ofen ex saxo, ex marmore Mailand;*" and, as we shall see, there are few stronger testimonies than the citadel of the German Knights to the durability of the humblest of these materials. Passing across a second or inner foss, we come to the Middle Castle or House, which consists of three sides of a quadrangle, and further on still to the High or Upper Castle, the earliest part of the entire edifice built about the year 1275. Of the Middle Castle, the eastern half was demolished in the utilitarian days—the days, I believe it is the fashion to call them, of benevolent despotism—which began with Frederick the Great, and which deliberately destroyed more than had been allowed to run to waste in generations of Polish misrule; of the lofty four-storied western part, it has been possible to restore much of the ancient imposing magnificence. Here were the Grand Master's apartments, and here

is the charming common-room or *convents remter* of the knights, with its groined ceiling resting on three granite pillars, spreading majestically like palm-trees. Of the Upper Castle, which is the most ancient portion of the citadel, built on the height of the rising ground, and originally, no doubt, a mere collection of wooden huts behind walls of earth, the southern side contains the well-preserved church of the Order, in its internal decorations betraying, if I remember right, the influence of the Jesuit taste—a very bad taste—which held dominion there in the later Polish days, but finely proportioned and containing two noteworthy monuments of art. The one is the so-called Golden Portal, a deep arch-way, consisting of a serried succession of pointed arches sur-mounting two long rows of pillars, the whole being accounted one of the most perfect achievements of mediæval brickwork. It seems formerly to have been connected with a cloister, which was still preserved at the end of the last century. Of the other monument I do not know how to estimate the artistic value, but this is quite forgotten in its symbolical significance. At the extreme east end of the church, in a tall niche hollowed out of its outer wall, stands a colossal statue of the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Child in her arms, and the heavenly crown on her head. The statue itself is of stucco, but covered with a kind of mosaic of coloured and gold-rimmed glass, which gives a peculiar dazzling effect to the whole. There was a legend that a wonder-working image of the Mother of God had existed in a Christian chapel on this spot already in the days of the thirteenth century, and that it had been sought out and cherished by the early Christians of the land; but this legend was manifestly an *ex post facto* growth. The many-coloured statue was, of course, the semblance of the Divine Protectress and Patroness of the Order, designed to typify to the dwellers on the flat lands around and to the foe who might approach,

as many did approach, the walls of the citadel, the strength in which the Christian knights trusted, a strength more resistless than walls and sword and shield. Like Athene Promachos on the Athenian Acropolis, so this Patron-Virgin could not in the days of their direst calamity ward off the foes from the citadel. She could not—or would she not? Heaven helps those who help themselves, and abandons those who themselves betray their trust.

May I essay in what follows briefly to sketch for you the history of these German Knights, and in outline to recall, with the origin of their greatness, the causes of their decline and fall? I almost think such an attempt may better serve to interest you in the great historical monument to which I wish to direct your attention, than any detailed description of it and of the restorations which have been effected in it by Prussian patriotism and under the influence of the Romantic Revival. Perhaps there are certain details in these Restorations which one might have wished otherwise; but I had rather not venture a grunt of this description, and the whole movement, which preserved the Marienburg from utter decay, may almost be compared to that which finished the building of the Cathedral of Cologne. It was started by the celebrated President of the Province of Prussia, Schön, who had in him not a little of the heroic obstinacy of his contemporary and fellow-worker Stein. It was carried on to a stage which ensured, if it did not accomplish, its completion under the patronage of the late King of Prussia, who, like his more fortunate brother, the present venerable Emperor, worthily represented some of the best and noblest aspirations of his age and country.

Who were these German Knights, what was the country they conquered, and what, when they had conquered it, did they do with it and themselves? The German or Teutonic Order of Knights, the latest born of the three great chival-

rous Orders which are to be reckoned among the best and noblest fruit borne by the enthusiasm of the Crusades, like the Knights Hospitallers, and of St. John and the Templars, took their origin from small beginnings. As early as the former half of the twelfth century, the piety of a wealthy German established a house at Jerusalem for the reception of sick and helpless pilgrims of his nation, with a chapel attached to it dedicated to the same Blessed Virgin whose image afterwards glittered in the east window at Marienburg. It was called the German House, and the brethren attached to its service were pious pilgrims of German nationality following the Austen rule. But, though it had been placed under the protection of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, this German House, with many other Christian institutions, came to an end in the days when the Holy City had once more fallen into evil hands,—although they were the politic hands of the tolerant Sultan Saladin. Christendom could not bear the shame, and while the titular King of Jerusalem, Guy of Lusignan, lay for many a long month before Acre, the key of the region west of Jordan, the sovereigns of Europe armed for the great effort which we call the Third Crusade. Among them was the greatest potentate of the Christian world, the mighty Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick I. Barbarossa, whose vast armada might have turned the tide in favour of the Cross more effectively than the forces of the quarrelsome western kings, had not Heaven willed it otherwise. On the river Seleph he sank to his long rest, from which generations of patriots and poets in vain sought to awaken him nearer home in Kyffhäuser. But among his soldiery, who lay with the troops of his allies before Acre, famine and disease came to rage more fiercely than the scimitar of the foe; and while Frenchmen and Italians were tenderly nursed in their sickness and sufferings by the Templars and the Knights of St. John, the Germans

sickened to death without either roof or resting-place. It was then that, little conscious of the great alliance which they were knitting for centuries still unborn, certain citizens of the great mercantile towns of the German north, Lübeck and Bremen, who were among the Crusaders besieging Acre, took pity upon their afflicted countrymen, and erected for them first a kind of hospital-tent made of the sails of a ship, and then a more permanent building, which King Guy promised to endow with an estate in Acre when the city should have been conquered. And before long the thought came to the dead Emperor's second son, Duke Frederick of Swabia, who was himself to sacrifice his life in the siege, that a German Order of Knights should be permanently established at Acre to tend the sick and helpless, while its members should still bear themselves as doughty warriors in the defence of the Holy Land and the Church of Christ. Thus in due time the Order was founded; and its founder, Duke Frederick of Swabia, when his hour came, was buried in the church which joined its hospital and dwelling-house. The Popes blessed the Order as part of their system, and the German nation rejoiced in it as part of their nation; and it flourished so greatly that before a generation had passed away it was held to have left both Templars and Hospitallers behind, and to have established itself as the mightiest and most influential association of Knights in the Christian west. Oddly enough, such records as we possess of the progress of the Order in its early years are mainly records of growing wealth, of donations of lands at first in the east and in Italy, then in Thuringia and other parts of Germany. These were afterwards known as the *Balleien* or bailiwicks of the Order, outlying possessions enclosed by the territories of divers princes and lords, and doing their best further to confound the confusion of the political geography of the middle ages. I remember once how, strolling about Utrecht,

I found myself in a sort of manor-farm by the river, in which I recognised a remnant of one of these *Balleien*, of which I afterwards found the history open to perusal in a national exhibition at the Hague. But though munificence and good investments can do much, and though the success of the German Knights excited considerable jealousy among their brethren of the older Orders, yet there is no real greatness possible without some element of imaginative power in the making of it, and the German Order did not understand its destination till in 1210 it chose the Thüringian Knight, Hermann von Salza, for its Grand Master. Hermann von Salza was a native of Thuringia, when Christian culture flourished, and had been trained in the school of the Emperor Frederick II., from whom he had learnt at Palermo some of the secrets of his statecraft, without being infected by his lax cosmopolitanism—a tendency then, as now, irreconcileable with active patriotism and religiosity. In return for the services which the Grand Master had rendered to the Emperor, Frederick II. created him a prince of the empire, and thus it came to pass that the Black Imperial Eagle found his way into the centre of the Golden Cross on the silver coat of arms worn by the Grand Master of the Order, and afterwards into the Ducal and Royal Prussian Arms. (The German Knights wore black crosses on white cloaks, and black and white are the Prussian colours. The Templars, who wore red crosses on the same, disputed the right of the German knights to wear white cloaks, but a papal decision allowed their claim to do so, provided their cloaks were made of a different material. The Knights of St. John wore white crosses on black cloaks.) And now we arrive at the very period when this eagle first winged his northward flight. Hermann von Salza had the mind of a true statesman—the man who uses his times and their opportunities without forcing them. The spirit which had carried the Crusaders

into the Holy Land had all but fled; in the so-called Fifth Crusade, which ended in 1204, not so much as a blow was struck on the soil of Palestine, and years were consumed in preparing for the Sixth, which ended fatally with the excommunication of the Emperor by the Pope. Hermann von Salza perceived that the time had come for the activity of his Order—an activity in default of which it would grow fat and lazy in its bailiwicks—to find new outlets. First the Knights lent their aid to King Andrew II. of Hungary, against the heathen Cumans (a Turanian tribe); and for a time they held and cultivated a settlement in Transylvania, where they learnt some lessons which were of use to them afterwards. Thus, when the message came which summoned them to the task of the conversion of Prussia, they were by no means unprepared for the call. And yet, though mighty things were to come of their enterprise, it had perhaps been better had they never engaged in it. By the sword they conquered, and by the sword they were destroyed. At the time when they set about their mission of blood and iron, a chain of German commercial settlements was already spreading around the Baltic; the Hansa was forming; and in time these agencies would probably have sufficed to reach and to transform the land east of the Vistula which still remained pagan.

Here, between Vistula and Niemen, dwelt the Prussians, a people more closely akin to their north-eastern neighbours, the Lithuanians, than to the nations on their western, southern, and south-eastern borders, the Pomeranians, the Poles, and the Russians. Their language, to which Lithuanian and Lettish stood nearest, was Old Prussian, a tongue long since extinct, and treated by the German Knights with no more kindliness than has usually been shown by their countrymen towards the tongues used or cherished by annexed populations. There is a Marienburg legend, telling

how, as late as the middle of the fourteenth century, on the occasion of the election to the Grand Mastership of Winrich von Kniprode, under whom the Order flourished as never theretofore, a Prussian bard ventured, after the banquet, to chant the honour of the chief of his native gods in his native tongue. Though nobody understood a word of his song, the Grand Master was wroth at his audacity, and bid them by way of guerdon give him a dish filled with hollow nuts, and drive him from the castle. And as he was driven out he lifted up his voice once more, and (perhaps like Lord Byron he could curse in all European languages) those who had not understood his song understood his execrations, and shuddered at having mocked a poet who could express himself with so much force. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, these Prussians were as unconverted from the paganism of their fathers as they were unsubdued by foreign conquest. What knowledge could history possess of a race thus secluded from civilisation? Herodotus knew that amber came from their shores, and one thrills with the thought of Nature's calm inexhaustible productivity, as, steaming along the endless sand-banks of the *Curishe Haff*, one notices the mechanical devices for gratifying the luxury of our own times with the precious material which was brought from the same shores to the Hellenes. But Herodotus knew nothing, and Tacitus, five hundred years afterwards, knew little more, of the amber-land itself and of its inhabitants; and established as they were behind impenetrable marshes and forests, there seems no reason for supposing that these populations were in any perceptible degree affected by the movements and changes of the great popular migrations. The first representative of civilisation who visited these lands, and to whom we owe a description of their inhabitants, was Wulfstan, who is supposed to have been a native of Jutland, and whose account of his Baltic voyage was added

by our King Alfred to his translation of the *Universal History* of Orosius. His picture of the Esths (by which name he mostly designates the peoples dwelling east of the Vistula, while those west of it he calls Wends) agrees with what we know of the manners and customs of the Old Prussians in rather later times. They were strange manners enough, including a system of wakes such as I have witnessed as at this day carried to a quite extraordinary excess by the Lithuanian peasantry; though I do not know that they, like their ancestors, artificially freeze the corpse of the deceased, so as to prolong the good time which they have over it before the last parting.

There was no lack before the thirteenth century, both of hostile attacks by powerful neighbours and of peaceful attempts by Christian missionaries upon the land between Vistula and Niemen; but the former only achieved a transitory success, and the latter, which brought the crown of martyrdom to the Slav Saint Adelbert and to the Saxon Brun, were failures from the outset. The sword was hardly more successful than the cross, though by the middle of the twelfth century a small corner of Prussia in the south (the so-called Culmland) had fallen into dependence on Poland. From here in the year 1209, the monk Christian, a member of the Cistercian foundation at Oliva, west of the Vistula, set forth as an apostle to the heathen, and after several efforts was appointed bishop in Prussia by Pope Innocent III. But what he had planted was speedily uprooted by a rebellion of the natives; and the result was in the next pontificate the issue of a papal summons to a crusade against the northern heathen. Honorius III. made very careful arrangements for securing a direct control to the Holy See over the acquisitions that should be made by this new crusade, but for various reasons it came to naught; or rather the efforts made to bring it about ended in a mainly Polish and Pomeranian raid

(1222), which had little permanent effect, and led to a retaliation in which the very convent of Oliva, the real source of Bishop Christian's mission, was sacked by the furious heathen. Many interesting speculations suggest themselves as to what might have been the result had this essentially Slav crusade succeeded in mastering the destinies of this stubborn land; but we pass them by. In 1226, the Duke of Masovia (N.E. Poland), a vassal of the Polish crown, whose lands had been laid waste by the Prussians, summoned the Knights of the German Order to invade Prussia from the south, taking the Culm lands which were made over to them for the purpose for the basis of their operations, and to conquer this rude remnant of heathendom for the honour and glory of God. Hermann von Salza, to whom, as will have already appeared, no offer could have been more welcome, took good care that there should be no mistake about it. The esteem in which he was held by Frederick II. enabled him to obtain from the Emperor not only a confirmation of the transfer of the territory offered by the Polish duke, but also investiture for himself and the Grand Masters who should succeed him with all the lands which the Order might take from the Prussians, with as full a territorial jurisdiction and lordship as those exercised by any prince of the empire. In 1230, the diplomacy of Hermann of Salza was rewarded by a confirmatory papal bull, and in the following year the conquest of Prussia was begun by the German Knights, who by no means at once transferred their seat thither from Venice, where they were comfortably established, but who sent an advanced guard, which sat down in 1229 in a wooden fortress on the Vistula, opposite Thorn in the land of Culm, called in the chronicles by the idyllic name of Vogelsang. Rather unfortunately for the future relations of Germany and Prussia, this conquest was in theory made for the Church and not for the Empire; for these were the days of unbounded papal

claims; and in 1234, the Pope declared the country conquered the property of St. Peter, bestowing it as a fief upon the *Order*, which in its turn acknowledged the relation by the payment of a moderate rent-charge.

The process of conquest, once begun, went steadily on, supported by the Holy See with all the means in its power. It is well known that in the middle ages Crusading armies were not the most select bodies of campaigners—a fact easily enough accounted for when it is remembered that indulgences attached to participation in a Crusade.* Though among the Prussian Crusaders we do not hear of an element such as that which alloyed the invading army of William the Norman (and that too was in a sense almost a Crusading army), yet the Pope had thought proper to absolve from the proper penances of their sins all the soldiers of the Order—even those guilty of heinous crimes, of incendiarism, of the maltreatment of priests, or of Ghibellinism—an enumeration of offences recalling the Puritan sentence on the Oxonian who had been guilty of drunkenness, bad language, and bearing arms for the king. Furthermore, the Pope had granted to all husbands who joined the army a dispensation enabling them, should they prefer it, to divorce their wives. The conquest of Prussia was hereupon effected in a series of campaigns conducted with a regularity and system quite unusual in those times. No sooner had the Knights made themselves masters of a stretch of territory, than German ships, largely no doubt owned by Danzig merchants, brought them building materials up the Vistula, and fortifications were erected, the judicious choice of which to this day excites the admiration of strategists. Thus arose the castles of Thorn, Kulm, Marienwerder, and, named in honour of Ottokar, the great King of Bohemia,

* See, as to the privileges conferred upon the Templars with reference to the admission into their Order of excommunicated persons, an article on the Templars in *Königsberger Studien* 1. *Heft* (1887), pp. 166-7.

who had ridden north to gain glory and benefit for his soul in these conflicts, the fortress in Samland called Königsberg. After each castle had been built, the natives usually awoke to the perception that it was time to rise against the invader, and knocked their heads against his walls in vain. Thus (for I must not dwell on the successive steps in its progress) the Order, after absorbing into itself certain other Orders, of which the most famous was the Livonian Order of the Sword, not only secured to itself the possession of the whole of Prussia (East Prussia, as it is now called) between Vistula and Niemen, but became the ruling authority along the whole Baltic coastline of Prussia, Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia, from Danzig to Narva on the Gulf of Finland. Everywhere Christian churches were built and the Christian worship was established, and in the wake of the Knights came citizens of the towns of Lower Germany, who established themselves in the towns beneath the castles, and were granted a liberal measure of rights and privileges. Of course, the inevitable happened; and an awful native revolt, inspired by the last fanatic efforts of paganism and directed by chiefs who had gained some insight into the ways of their foes, had to be quenched in blood. The struggle lasted for the better part of a generation and was fought out with unparalleled fury. What was the warfare of the East—warfare, for instance, against a civilised adversary like Sultan Saladin—compared with the horrors of this great heathen rebellion, in the course of which we hear of a captured German force being offered up, iron armour and all, as a burnt sacrifice to the god of thunder? By the year 1283 all was over, and the Black Cross triumphant.

To this very period belongs the foundation of the Marienburg on the Nogat, of which the most ancient part was probably built about a generation before—in 1309—the Grand Master, Siegfried von Feuchtwangen, held his solemn

entry into the castle as his official residence. The greatest days of the castle fall in the latter half of the fourteenth century, when a whole series of puissant Grand Masters were buried in the vault of St. Anne, beneath the castle church. In this period the territories of the Order were strictly organised on the footing of a military state; and as in a military state no real division of authority can be permitted, so the Order would not allow even the Church to pose as a rival to itself, but filled up the bishoprics and chapters in Prussia with its own members, who were little awed either by the Archbishop at Riga or by the Pope at Rome. There was no longer any love lost between the proud knights and the spiritual power which had claimed them as vassals; what good-will could there be between the creatures of the French crown at Avignon, and this order of soldier-monks, safe, unlike the Templars, from the clutches of King or Pope, in their northern fastnesses? Once the thunderbolt of excommunication fell upon them, but left them unharmed. They were on good terms with the citizens of their towns, which, from 1311, by a masterly stroke, had come to include Danzig, the wealthiest under their sway of the Baltic cities, though no halo of historic greatness surrounds its name, like that of free Lübeck, because their interests supplemented rather than clashed with one another: as for the peasantry, they were held down rigorously to their contributions and their services.

It would take me too long to attempt a sketch of the constitution of the Order, or of the system of policy whereby it was enabled to hold high its head, trusting in the last resort to that military and afterwards naval strength, without which all policy is doomed to be found out. As to its policy, it consisted in a steady adherence to certain principles deduced from well understood self-interest. With the Hanseatic towns co-operation, and to those towns under the supremacy of the

Order, a large measure of liberty of action; towards the Scandinavian powers a haughty championship of the German name, and the claim of protecting the German trader against potentates and pirates; a share accordingly in the great achievements of which the conquest and reconquest of Gothland belong to the Order's historic glories. Against the Poles and Lithuanians an attitude of vigilance the reverse of benevolent, an endeavour to create divisions and schisms among them, and the germ of a plan for the first partition of the hated neighbour kingdom. As to its system of administration, the Order, like most of the Monastic Orders of which the Orders of chivalry are often all a mere species, presents a curious mixture of monarchical and oligarchical principles. Wandering through the Marienburg, one is not unlikely to overrate the regard paid to the former. The Grand Master, whose style of address was "my dear brother" with the sovereign heads of Europe, was lodged in princely fashion in the central portion of the citadel, whence he could observe the stir and bustle in the quadrangle, the *rialto* of its daily life. His audience-chamber is a lofty hall, with a thrice-vaulted ceiling, supported by two of the elegant granite pillars, which are among the choicest architectural features of the Marienburg; behind it lie "Master's chamber" and "Master's little chamber," large enough in the utilitarian days to house a little colony of cotton-weavers—for this celibatarian walls refuse to whisper that in the Polish times they sheltered a fair lady favoured by Augustus the Strong. A further door leads to the Master's small *Remter* or hall, supported by a single pillar; and thence through a noble vaulted corridor we reach the Master's large *Remter*, the great meeting-place of the Knights on occasions of state and solemnity, forty-five feet square, with ten lofty windows looking out on the plains, and opposite them the mighty fireplace, carved out of a solid mass of stone. But the pride

of the great hall is the solitary pillar of polished granite, on which the sixteen-ribbed structure of its ceiling is concentrated. It was by a cannon-ball directed against this pillar that the Polish King Jagello intended, during the siege which ensued after the battle of Tannenberg, to bring the Grand Master and all his Knights to a sudden end; for he knew the hour of their meeting in the great *Remter*, and indeed had suborned a traitor to place his red hat as a sign in the window overlooking the plain; but the Blessed Virgin watched over her Knights and the stone ball flew, at a distance of a few inches, past the pillar into the wall, and may now be seen preserved as a memorial over the mantel of the fireplace. Well the Knights might exult in such a Patroness; for when in an interview with the Polish King the Grand Master had expressed his trust in her protection, the Pole had mocked at her impotence, and bid a gunner aim at her counterfeit in the east window of the castle church; and the gunner had aimed, and aimed in vain, and had himself been smitten on the spot with blindness for the rest of his days.

But we may think of the Master in more peaceable season and mood as we pass from his official abode into the part of Marienburg lying in the immediate vicinity of the castle, which to this day bears the designation of the *Wälsche Garten*, *i.e.*, the Italian garden. One recalls involuntarily those gardens ablaze with the fiery flora of the south, through which one has fancied the Knights of St. John pacing under the sun of Malta; indeed, these gardens with their southern exotics, and often as here with the garden of beasts—the zoological garden, as we prefer to call it—adjoining, were distinctly associated with the experiences and acquisitions of the Crusades. Further on was the Master's falconry, celebrated as the best in Europe down to the days of the Emperor Maximilian, the last German Knight, as he was called by his admirers; and the Master's private garden with

its summer-house, where, attired in a black tunic marked with the white cross, and a Danzig straw hat, he might offer a cool cup to his guests after they had strolled along his extensive carp-ponds. Or shall we picture him to ourselves, more germanely to the original purpose of his Order's foundation, visiting the "Firmary" for sick knights, an institution of which it is pleasing to hear at so early a date and in so martial a court?

Yet, though the Grand Master was sovereign lord over the little solemnities and the trivialities of every day, he was in all matters of importance subject to the assent of the oligarchy of his Order, to which he owed his election. His Council of Five had to sanction any measure of importance before it was issued as his ordinance; the governors of the districts had to approve of decrees affecting the subject territories and their inhabitants; occasionally the chapter of the entire Order was assembled by the officer called the *Deutschmeister*, and might take into its hands the affairs of the common weal, nay the deposition of the very Grand Master himself. Thus much depended on the state of public feeling—so to call it—in the citadel of the Knights, and upon its manifestations as they sat at their tables in the great common room *(Conventsremter)*, of which I have already spoken: the Grand Master, with the chief officers of the Order at the high table, where to the last four portions were served to him at every meal, so that he might have to spare from his superfluity for the poor; the Knights, whether priests or laymen, at the common table, where each two brethren were allowed every day a gallon of good beer, but besides this naught but pure water, except on the festive days of the Church; and at a third table the squires or novices, not yet formally received as Knights. It was a martial body of men that would have been found here in the great days of the Order: soldiers who had at all times to be in readiness for

service, to which they might be called at any time, for the postal system of the Knights was excellent, and linked their castles together and with the great citadel on the Nogat. Of learning, sacred or profane, there was, we may take it, little to be heard or seen; though one Grand Master ordered that each house should contain two learned scholars, one in divinity and one in law; with the rest a strict discipline had to serve in matters both intellectual and moral; and we hear of a knight of high birth being consigned to perpetual incarceration, "because he was a doubter." The Knights would have nothing to say to the monks of the older Orders, or to the learning and culture of which they were representatives; they were the soldiers of the cross in a very literal sense of the word, and it cannot be denied that with all its beauty there is in the style of the Marienburg, and in the many castles of the Order which were modelled upon it, an unmistakeable admixture of the barracks.

Strong, solid, and self-centred, the Order of the German Knights was doomed to decay and fall by internal as well as by external causes. Neither kind can be reviewed on the present occasion. But I may briefly refer to certain contradictions inherent in its nature and constitution, out of which time was certain to form obstacles against a continuous healthy growth. The Order was an aristocracy, and aristocracies often live long in both State and Church; but this was an aristocracy depending upon accident, instead of being held together by really enduring ties. Of course, the bond by which it professed to be bound together was that of religious vows, but these in many instances became purely formal, in others they were shamelessly disregarded. When the monastic orders gave way before the temptations of the world and the flesh, what could be looked for from the military? At times it seemed as if the sins of the Templars, which helped to bring about though they did not justify

their doom, had failed to be a warning to the German Knights. But furthermore, there was something radically unnatural, and therefore unsound, in their rule. The allegiance which they exacted from landowners, burghers, and peasantry throughout Prussia was unlike that imposed by a national dynasty upon a willing people. The towns, above all Danzig, were weary of the rule of these monk-soldiers and knight-merchants, and jealous both of their competition and their control. Here as elsewhere in the great mercantile towns of the empire was growing up a civic patriciate, rich enough and proud enough not to fear the thought of a struggle with these haughty lords of theirs, owners themselves of a sleeping place in their great castle, and a seat in the chapter house and the great *Conventsremter*. The country nobles and squires, too, began to complain and conspire together; the League of the Lizards which they formed in the way of self-defence against the Knights might on occasion be used in the way of aggression; while as for the lower class, they had no reason to love their black-cross masters, and would not remain unaffected by the agitation which in this period was spreading like the epidemics of the age through the peasantries of Europe. Finally, the military system of the western world was undergoing an unavoidable change; the Order, like other persons, had to take large masses of foot soldiers into its pay; and apart from the sacrifices in money which this entailed upon the Knights, was it to be expected that they would in the long run be able to gain victories as of old by mainly mercenary troops? These and other causes were contributing to the decline of the Order; but besides and above these there was at work a cause such as it is rarely given to contemporaries to divine, however patent it may be to the eyes of posterity. No human institution can long preserve its vitality of which the reason for existence—the *raison d'être*—has passed away.

The *raison d'être* of the Order was continuous warfare against the heathen; and in 1386, when the Lithuanian prince, Jagello, called in baptism Ladislas, mounted the Polish throne, he—a convert himself—cut the ground from under the Order's feet by forcing or bribing the whole of his Lithuanian people, now united with the Polish, into the Christian fold. The sword of the German Knights would have rusted in its scabbard had they not been forced to draw it in self-defence.

The great revival, if I may use the term, of the Slav nationality in the closing years of the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth century (the revival with which the Hussite movement so strangely connects itself) was the beginning of the end for the German Knights. With the official Christianisation of Lithuania the Order's occupation was gone; nor should it be overlooked that about the same time the power of the Hanseatic League of Cities, the natural and almost indispensable ally of the Order, declined on account partly of internal conflicts, while the League's Scandinavian rivals were consolidating their power in the Union of Calmar. First the Knights had to maintain a struggle of several years with the Samogitians for the mastery of the territory between Prussia and Lombardy, in the course of which Memel, the Land's End of the kingdom of Prussia in later days, was captured by the barbarians and had to be retaken from them. Then, in 1408, the Order abandoned the island of Gothland with its German city of Wisby to the Scandinavian Queen Margaret. And all the time there continued the intrigues of the Polish government—intrigues with the Order's neighbours and intrigues with its subjects—which were carried on till the collision became a mere question of time; and when it took place, what a terrible background of resources had the foe in a whole cluster of pagan peoples with whom which he showed no scruple of

entering into alliances! In the year 1410, on the field of Tannenberg, two armadas of unprecedented size—seventy-nine thousand soldiers of the Order, it was reckoned, against one hundred and seventy thousand Poles—were hurled against one another, and after an awful slaughter the victory to which treason had helped fanaticism remained with the Slav.

But the end was not as yet. Among the tens of thousands who had fallen at Tannenberg was the Grand Master Ulric von Jungingen, who lies with the other Masters in the vault beneath the church at Marienburg. No ghostly voice, as on an earlier occasion in the Order's history, was heard to sound from that vault naming the successor who should save the castle and its owners from peril, but the Superiors of the Knights met, and resolutely chose Count Henry of Plauen in the place of the dead man. Everything seemed lost; the nobility of the land of Culm were in open rebellion; Danzig admitted a Polish commander within its walls. But the new Grand Master contrived to concentrate the remnant of his Knights within the solid walls of the Marienburg, burning the very town at its base lest it should serve the purposes of the invader before he approached with his army—and an eastern army is generally a kind of migration—of Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, and Tartars. For weeks they lay before the citadel, of which they were unable to master even a single foss or wall—and which we may be sure would not have collapsed before them, even had their master gunner hit the pillar in the great *Remter* at which the story makes him to aim through the traitor's hat. King Ladislas' Lithuanians, Christians though they were, proved insubordinate, and in the end he withdrew, as barbarians always will withdraw when confronted by anything in the way of a fortification. As he retired, castle after castle in his rear was recovered by the Grand Master, and soon Ladislas thought it best to

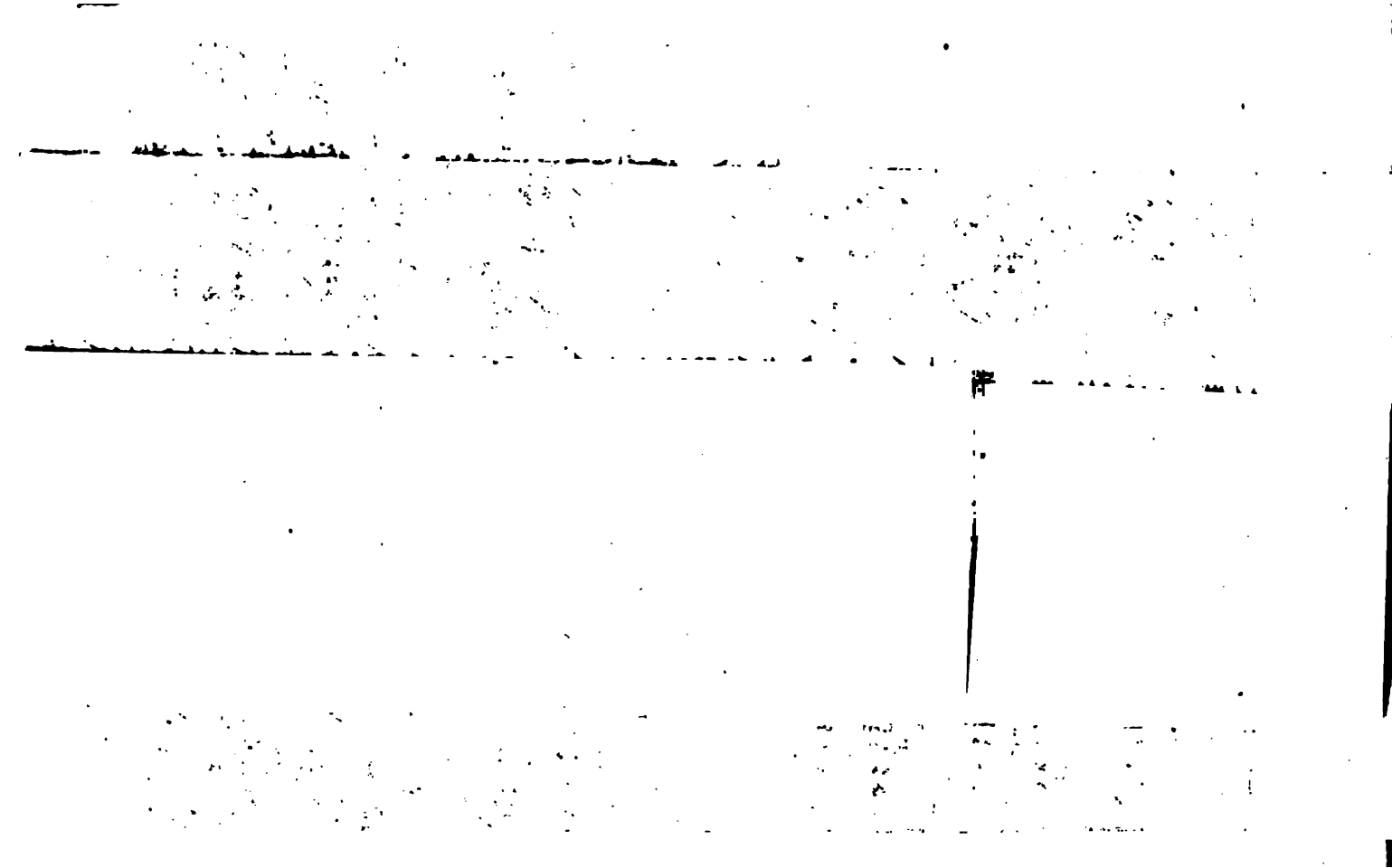
make peace. The First Peace of Thorn (1411) left the Order with its territories impaired only by the loss of Samogitia, which had to be surrendered to Poland.

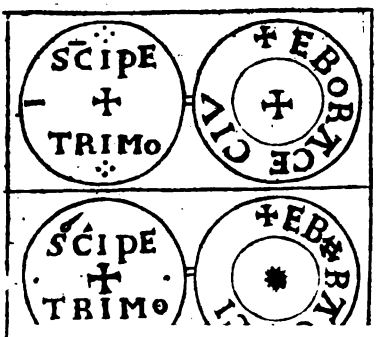
But in truth Henry of Plauen, who himself afterwards had to stalk like another Coriolanus among the tents of the foe—he had been deposed for ordering a tax which all were to pay alike and which all seem to have alike resisted—and whose life ended in misery and shame, had merely staved off the evil day. He made a number of reforms in the constitution of the Order, which were doubtless necessary, but like some other reforms that have been heard of in the history of the world, were an announcement of decline. While the dominions of the Order were subjected to constant inroads, which it met in a spirit of conciliation, the Slav people drew more and more closely together, excited to the wildest hopes by the successes of the Hussites, whose visitations did not spare Prussia itself in their courses. Abroad and at home, the Order had palpably survived its better days, nay had almost survived itself, when it began altogether to lose its national character. When another Polish war overwhelmed its lands, the Marienburg was sold to the Polish King by the mercenaries of the Order, who had driven the Grand Master out of his own castle; and significantly enough it was the *town* of Marienburg which contrived to hold out for not less than three years on its own account, under the command of a brave knight of the Order and its own heroic burgomaster. For the town had grown into a considerable community, and had been rebuilt since the siege of 1410, which its guildhall, a building which seems to date from as early a period as the Marienburg itself, had fortunately survived. The brave burgomaster, Bartholomew Blome, was finally captured by the Poles, and put to death—the type of a civic virtue not ill mated with what was left of the spirit of Christian chivalry.

In the Second or so-called Perpetual Peace of Thorn (1466) Prussia was divided into two parts, the western half falling to Poland, the eastern being restored to the Order on condition of its Grand Master becoming a vassal of the Polish crown and half the German Knights being henceforth Poles. Before long the decrepit Order began to adopt the policy of electing to the Grand Mastership a member of some important princely house, whose support might be thus purchased for the continuance of its existence. Thus, as you know, the office passed into the hands of Margrave Albert of Brandenburg-Anspach, whom Luther satisfied of that as to which we are all so easily satisfied—the coincidence of expediency and duty. He responded to the commands of both by casting to the winds the rule of the Order, marrying a wife and turning East Prussia into a secular duchy. There was an end—at least among the powers of this world there was an end—of the Black Cross, but the Black Eagle was only beginning his flight, which has borne him far beyond the range of the swiftest falcon of the proudest Grand Master. If you wish to seek, as it behoves antiquarians to seek, for the last traces of the German Order, you will have to travel from the shores of the Baltic to the valleys of the Adige, where I believe its Knights still pass—or till recently passed—through portals marked with the Black Cross as they passed of old through the Golden Portal in the Marienburg.

As for the Marienburg itself, being situate in Western Prussia, it necessarily passed as it were permanently with the rest of this division of the land into the power of the Polish crown, the Grand Masters and the Knights in the first instance taking up their abode at Königsberg. The Polish occupation was not altogether undisturbed; in 1626, no less a hero than Gustavus Adolphus captured the castle for Sweden, whose soldiery was only after years ousted from

the castle. They then recovered possession. On the whole they did little harm to the castle except by "beautifying" it, in accordance with their own and their spiritual advisers, the Jesuits', conceptions of beauty, dignity, and order. During the Seven Years War a Russian occupation added its civilising influences; but the worst days of the Marienburg began when, in 1772, in consequence of the first Partition of Poland, it fell into the hands of Frederick the Great and his successors. Happily quite at the beginning of the present century, when instructions had been actually given to pull down the entire old-fashioned concern and cart away the materials, in order with their help to build a really useful military magazine elsewhere, some men of artistic and patriotic insight—above all President Schön, a name illustrious in Prussian history—interposed, and the movement began to which has been due the preservation as well as the restoration of this splendid relic of the middle ages. It is now many years since I visited it; and my audacity in giving a rough account of it to you to-night would be rightly rebuked were some member of the Society to rise and inform me that I had been telling a very old tale. If so, I will only ask him, by way of excuse, whether he has not at times, like myself, been haunted by the remembrance of that mighty castle in the plains, of the vaulted halls in which the Black-Cross Knights gathered to discuss their exploits and their perils, and of the church beneath which moulder their rulers—instruments like the puniest of us in the mysterious hands of God?

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THE HARKIRKE FIND.

BY WILLIAM S. CHURCHILL.

THE history of the Harkirke find has a special interest of its own, both as to the circumstances attending it and as to the coins of which it was composed. It is also an old find, dating so far back as the year 1611, and it is connected with our own county. The number of coins discovered were only comparatively few, at an outside estimate not more than three hundred, and of even these the only record now remaining is a copper plate, on which were carefully engraved, set out in the form of a cross, the obverse and reverse of thirty-five most perfect examples.

A very full and exceedingly interesting narrative of the discovery of these coins has been preserved among the papers of the Blundell family, written by the owner of the estate, William Blundell, Esq., who naturally took much interest in this case of treasure trove.

His grandson of the same name, better known as the "Cavalier," made some additions to the description of his relative, and both of these have been included in a volume, recently issued by the Chetham Society, with the title of *Crosby Records*. The Rev. T. E. Gibson, now of Southport, formerly chaplain of Lydiate Hall, has been the editor of

this book, and it has been furnished with an introduction from the pen of the late Bishop Goss. And it is to this attractive volume that I must refer all who may wish to learn more of the circumstances attending the discovery.

Mr. William Blundell was of an old Catholic family, who, finding some of his fellow religionists deceased had been refused burial at their parish church of Sephton, was led to set apart a piece of ground known by the name of the Harkirke as a place of burial. The plot of ground lay not far distant from his house at Little Crosby, and was thought from its name to have been used in olden time for sacred purposes. It was thus well fitted for the use intended.

According to the account handed down, the number of coins amounted to about three hundred. Mr. Blundell "esteemed them to be of a value equal as possible to y^{e} expense of fencing the ground and of converting that parcel of land to y^{t} particular use."

This remark has led to the incorrect statement to be found in the Harleian MS., that the coins were sold to pay for the expense incurred in forming the burial ground; but we learn in a writing by Mr. William Blundell, the grandson, dated 1686: "I had a great number of the aforesaid coynes in my own keeping till y^{e} year 1642 when I sent them into Wales for better security in y^{e} tyme of war wth writings and other goods which wer finally lost ther."

In the edition of Baines' *Lancashire*, edited by Mr. Harland, it is stated, "a few coins of this find are still remaining at Little Crosby Hall, the seat of the Blundell family;" but with reference to this matter the Rev. Father Gibson, in his recent volume, reports that "none of the coins are now at Crosby Hall."

I now beg to call attention to the very interesting copper plate which was prepared, under the direction of Mr. Blundell, shortly after the discovery of the coins.

Thirty-five of the best-preserved specimens were carefully copied by himself; but he makes special allusion to the fact that on two of the coins "his pen could not perfectly imitate and express the certain strange characters thereon." One of these coins is the only French coin shown on the plate, and the copyist refers to the monogram of Carlus or Carolus that should have appeared on the field of reverse, and which he accordingly leaves blank. The other case would seem to be a coin of King Alfred's, on which there is a blank space left on the upper margin of the obverse. The inscription ELFRED . REX is crowded upon the lower margin, but we have nothing to guide us, however, as to what the ornament or strange character in this case might be.

From these carefully-made drawings of Mr. Blundell's the copper plate already referred to was engraved, and on this they were arranged in the form of a cross. His grandson remarks, "and because he knew well y^{t} to reveile y^{e} works of God was an honorable thing he published the same in print y^{e} brazen cuts whereof are now extant wth me and y^{e} copyes flew abroad in the Country." Thus the Harkirke find is for us set forth in this copper plate, which is still in existence, and is now I suppose at Little Crosby Hall.

Out of about three hundred coins we have but thirty-five, so that, in a very special degree, the value of the find depends upon the care taken by the old squire in his loving though unwonted work.

In the Harleian MS. is to be found the report of a Mr. Waley, "who knows that many are incorrectly engraven." Who this Mr. Waley may be I have no present knowledge, but we can refer to other drawings of similar coins, and we can examine the coins for ourselves.

A well-known German numismatist, John David Köhler, published a wonderful series of weekly tractates, extending over thirty-five years, upon coins or medals. He happens

to give in January and March, of 1729, three of the coins engraved on this plate. The first is a silver penny, with the name of St. Peter upon it, struck at York; the second, one of King Alfred, with Cudberht as his moneyer. These two exactly agree with the drawing of Mr. Blundell, letter for letter and point for point. The third is a denar or penny of Berengarius, King of Upper Italy, in which Köhler has made the letter G in the word RELIGIO slightly different, 6; in other respects the two representations are alike, only that Köhler has his specimens one-sixteenth larger in size. Fairholt, in his plates of the Cuerdale find, confirms the drawing of Mr. Blundell and does not give any 6 like that of Köhler's in the few coins of Berengarius he has to engrave. Mr. Waley's remarks possibly relate to the instances referred to by Mr. Blundell, and perhaps also to the fact that in his drawing our friend has not attempted to give the effects of ill-usage, want of uniformity, rudeness of make, &c.; but in his hands the compass has described a true circle; the letters are drawn clearly and distinctly, and few of the coins issued in that early period would come up to such an exact standard as this plate affords us.

But there is the question of size to take into account, and it is possible that Mr. Waley's allegation may have some reference to it. Mr. Blundell, it seems, made his copy of the two sides of each coin, first taking twenty-five and then adding to them ten more, and he would probably draw them to their exact size. On this point he says himself that none were bigger than a groat and none were less than a two pence. (We here must remember that he lived in James I.'s reign.)

We do not know how they came to be placed in the form of a cross, but under the circumstances it was a natural thing to do. It is clear that uniformity of size would be required in order to secure a good effect, and so, if there were coins

of a less size in Mr. Blundell's sketch, they would have to be altered and made like their larger neighbours.

What is the case as to the size of these silver pennies as it stands? After careful examination, it appears that, as a whole, they are drawn of a larger size, say by one-sixteenth, than similar coins measured to-day. But still a fine coin would come up to his standard, whilst the greater majority would fall short of it, but by no more than this small difference. But what about the fact that some of them might have been halfpennies, not of those kind made out of divided pennies, but of lesser coins altogether by a quarter of an inch? In the Cuerdale find, deposited only a few years earlier than the Harkirke, most of the series represented in that find had halfpennies of circular form, in addition to the great bulk of pennies.

A witness fortunately throws a little light upon this matter, in the person of a Mr. Thomas Dingley, a painstaking antiquary in the reign of Charles II. He travelled through many of the counties of England, taking notes primarily of the churches, and the monuments within them. But he did not despise any small deer that happened to come in his way. Whether he was ever at Little Crosby Hall we do not know, or whether he saw the sketch of the coins themselves or simply met with an engraving of the plate, we have nothing to go by, except that in his well-filled notebook he jots down hurriedly, as it seems, both obverse and reverse of thirty-two of these coins, and that three of the last thus copied are of the halfpenny size. His collections are dated 1684, so we feel sure that he could not have seen the coins themselves as they had been lost many years before. Whether he shared in Mr. Blundell's hospitality and so saw the manuscript remains a difficult question, but we must not omit to observe that his notebook has been copied and reproduced by the Camden Society, so

that we have as it were his actual sketches before us. We see that his notebook has not much space to spare where the halfpennies are shown, and although the larger size might have been got into the available space, yet the writer in haste might not have thought so. He gives the coin of Carolus with its vacant field in reverse; but the coin of Alfred, that I suppose Mr. Blundell may have alluded to as attended with difficulty, is left out, and with it also two other coins of Alfred; No. 18 on the plate being the number of the first-named Alfred, and Nos. 14 and 15 the numbers of the two others.

The three pieces that are drawn of the halfpenny size by Mr. Dingley are Nos. 4, 5, and 8; they are coins with the name of St. Peter upon them, and were struck at York.

The British Museum has the only halfpenny known of this description, so that in this particular alone the loss of the Harkirke coins is much to be regretted.

The other references to the Harkirke find are all made with respect to engravings from the plate as prepared by Mr. Blundell. One of them appeared in the edition of Camden's Britannia of 1693. Another was included in the Harleian MS., of which we have already spoken, and which is now in the British Museum.

In 1678, a life of Alfred the Great, by Dr. John Spelman, was published at the Oxford press. It contained several plates of Saxon coins of great interest and value, and amongst them was a plate containing thirty-three of the Harkirke coins, the size of the plate not permitting more to be given. The coins are taken, of course, from the engraving, but are arranged in three rows of eleven each. The single strokes of the original are all doubled, even to the crosses and crosslets, wherever they occur. The effect of this is not bad, and if not so clear to the eye or so easy to be read, yet in this respect it is a closer imitation of the coin itself.

We have now to enquire as to the attribution of the coins themselves, in order to ascertain the probable time they were committed to the ground.

Taking the numbers from left to right, and commencing at the top, Nos. 1 to 11 bear the name of St. Peter, and all have Eboraci, the Latin name for York, upon them. According to Mr. Rashleigh, who has contributed to the London *Numismatic Journal* an exhaustive paper upon the coins of the Northumbrian province or kingdom, the series of coins struck in the name of St. Peter commence about the year 910 and terminate in 950 or near that time, and the whole of these eleven coins are considered by him to be of the earliest types. Three of these, as we have just explained, may very possibly be of the halfpenny size.

No. 12 is a penny of Phlegmund, an archbishop of Canterbury, who filled this office from 891 to 923; his moneyer is ÆDELVLF. Nos. 13 to 18 with 20 comprise seven coins of King Alfred. None of them have upon them the bust of the monarch, and only one has the name of a mint upon it, ✱ RSNAF ✱ RDA, Oxford. It is singular that no bust appears upon any of the thirty-five coins here displayed. The moneyers of Alfred are CVDBERHT . VVLFRED . BERNVALD . LVDIG . EDELZTAN . ÆDERED. His dates are 871–901. Nos. 19 and 21 to 27 include eight coins of Alfred's son, Edward the elder, who reigned from 901 to the year 925. No names of mints occur upon these coins, and his moneyers are seven, including ÆDERED, one of his father's moneyers. The others are EADMVND . VVLFHEARD . BEANSTAN . BEORNVVALD . DEORVVALD . DIORA. No. 22 has a cross in the field on both sides, the obverse one being of a rich and elaborate description. It has been observed that the whole of these eight coins are of the types issued by this monarch in the earlier years of his reign.

Nos. 28 to 31. These pennies bear the name of Saint

Edward as king. No less than one thousand seven hundred and seventy similar coins were included in the Cuerdale find. Mr. Rashleigh considers them as struck by the Danish authorities of Northumbria, at their mint of York, for use in their East Anglian territory, between the years 890 to 900. The large A on obverse is for ANGLIA. The king had fallen into the hands of the Pagan Danes in 870, who had put him to death in a cruel fashion, and miraculous incidents were soon reported to have taken place with respect to his body after death. St. Edmundsbury, or rather Bury St. Edmunds, has its name from this beloved and venerated monarch.

No. 32 is a penny that is now understood to bear the name of CNVT; but for many long years after the Harkirke find became known, this coin was a puzzle that from 1611 to the year 1840 remained unsolved. Mr. Blundell writes concerning it: "of this inscription aboute this doble Crosse I can say little for certaine, I coniecture onely y^{t} it was made in this manner as a token or badge of Christians and that the letters doe importe as much as to say a Christen; but let this be but my guesse untill better skill and Judgement approve the same. The latter or seconde syde of this is much more difficulte for my understandinge."

In the Cuerdale find were discovered no less than one thousand eight hundred and sixty of those coins, including, however, many varieties. The attention of the numismatic world was drawn to them. Many conflicting opinions were formed respecting these singular coins, the legends upon them at first baffling all attempts of learned experts both in this country and on the continent to understand them. It will be seen, on referring to the plate, that the letters on the obverse of the coin, if read as they are placed, will make no sense; but on taking the C at the foot of the cross as a starting point, and then the letters at the other three ends, the word CNVT is made up, whilst the intervening letters,

taken in order, make REX. They were held by some authorities to be coins struck by the Vikings, and to this day German catalogues not unfrequently thus refer to them. In England, however, the general opinion has agreed at last in the attribution first made known by the late Rev. D. H. Haigh, and that this No. 32 is a coin of Guthred or Gutfirth (son of Ivar), who was King of Northumbria from the year 883 to 894, and who is supposed to have taken the name of CNVT upon his baptism in the Christian faith. The reverse of our specimen coin has CVNNETTI, and the largest portion of those found at Cuerdale have this word also. Our former authority on Northumbrian coins (Mr. Rashleigh) considers it to be the name of a mint, and attributes it to CVNECA or CVNETA-CEASTRE, an ancient name of Chester le Street, near Durham.

"The once-powerful bishopric and monastery of Lindisfarne was re-established by Gutfirth at this place, and from the cruciform arrangement of the legend upon this coin it has quite an ecclesiastical appearance, and must therefore have been issued from a mint at this place, or from some other Northumbrian mint, under ecclesiastical supervision."

Since the publication of the results of the great find at Cuerdale, the coins with CVNNETTI upon them are now more numerous than those issued from the York mint, and therefore Mr. Rashleigh feels all the more sure they must have come from a place which, being under the special patronage of CNVT . GVTFIRTH, must have had a position little inferior, if not equal in authority, to York.

No. 33 represents a denar, or penny, of Berengarius I., who was King of Upper Italy from 887 to 899 and again from 905 until his violent death in 924. From the year 916 he assumed the title of emperor after his coronation by Pope John X. This penny bears the title of king, and would therefore be issued during the earlier part of his reign. The

obverse has a temple, with a legend referring to the Christian religion, showing in another way how, in all times more or less, a sacred sanction is assumed in the issue of a coinage.

No. 34 is a denar of Ludovicvs, and it may possibly be issued by one of this name who was King of Provence at the time that Berengarius was King of Italy. Being called upon, in 899, by a rival faction to drive out Berengarius, and to take possession of his kingdom, with the barren title of emperor, fortune smiled upon his attempt, and for a few years he was both emperor and king. In 905, however, he was defeated and deprived of sight by his active opponent, Berengarius, but allowed to return again to his own kingdom.

The coins of Louis "the child," who filled the throne of Germany from 899 to 912, are also precisely of this type; but as there is a coin of Berengarius shown in the find, it seems more likely that a coin of a Louis would belong to one who was his neighbour and rival than to a young monarch who had nothing to connect him with Italy.

No. 35 is the last piece, and represents a denar of Carolus or Carlus, struck at Metullo, supposed to be Melle, situate in the east of France. The field of the reverse, as before described, is void, as Mr. Blundell found that the task of copying the monogram of CAROLVS was much too difficult for him. This coin might have been issued by any of the three monarchs of this name who reigned over France in the ninth century, namely, Charles the Bald, 840 to 877; Charles the Fat, 884 to 887; and Charles the Simple, 893 to 923. The latter, however, during his troubled life, married a daughter of Edward the Elder, son to our great Alfred, and we must not forget that Louis, King of Provence, was also a son-in-law of the valiant Edward. It seems to offer some slight reason why, in this little find, and also in the more extensive one of Cuerdale, these coins should find a place.

We do not know how many of these stray foreign coins were included amongst the three hundred found at Harkirke; but we know that amongst the six thousand found at Cuerdale were thirty-four of Ludovicus, seven hundred and twenty-seven of Carolus, and thirteen of Berengarius.

We have now all the dates before us that are necessary to keep in mind in judging of the most likely time for the committal to earth of this Harkirke treasure, but there is one singular fact that yet remains to be mentioned.

Nearly one-third of the coins selected for engraving on the plate are those bearing the name of St. Peter and also that of York upon them, whilst in the Cuerdale find it is remarkable there should not be even a single one with the name of St. Peter, although there were so many of St. Eadmund, also supposed to have their origin at York. This circumstance helps to determine the most likely date for both the finds, and it would thus appear that the Cuerdale coins were buried prior to those at Harkirke and before the issue of the pennies with St. Peter's name upon them.

Mr. Hawkins, in his detailed account of the Cuerdale find, considers that the date of its interment would be about the year 910 A.D., and a few years later, say 915 or 920, for the Harkirke.

Bishop Goss, in his interesting preface to the *Crosby Records*, is of opinion that the year 913 is a very likely date for the committal to earth of the little treasure that has now had so much of our interest and attention.

Before closing, I desire to acknowledge my debt of obligation to the Rev. T. E. Gibson for the information I have derived from his valuable work. I have refrained from giving any details of the discovery itself, preferring that my hearers should consult the pages of the *Crosby Records* for

themselves. I wish to thank Mr. J. Rashleigh very sincerely for the help that his paper, read before the London Numismatic Society upon Northumbria and its coin issues, has afforded me. Without his guidance the many vexed questions, relating to Northumbria and its earlier monarchs, would have been perplexing indeed.

THE ANCIENT LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE LOCAL COURTS OF CRIMINAL AND SPECIAL JURISDICTION.

BY CHAS. T. TALLENT-BATEMAN.

THIS paper is a supplement to the longer paper I read to the Society, last session, on "The Ancient Lancashire and Cheshire Local Courts of Civil Jurisdiction,"* and completes my treatment of the general subject I undertook of "The Ancient Lancashire and Cheshire Local Courts of Justice."

The division of courts of civil jurisdiction, into "courts of record," and "courts not of record," is not to be applied to courts of criminal jurisdiction—though it may be to many of the courts of special jurisdiction—for a "Criminal" Court is understood to be one which is in the habit of punishing by imprisonment, and that power would not be vested in it were it not a "court of record."

The courts of special jurisdiction with which I shall deal are:—(1) Port-mote Courts, (2) Ecclesiastical Courts, (3) Coroners' Courts, (4) Pie Poudre Courts, (5) Court of the Clerk of the Market, and (6) The Ordinary Manor Courts (for copyholders), as distinguished from Courts Baron, Courts Leet, and Courts "for the view of *Frankpledge*."

* *Transactions*, vol. iv., p. 61.

The courts of criminal jurisdiction first claim our attention, and these I will treat of in (as nearly as possible) chronological order. The most ancient of these was the

Court of the Tourn.

This was the Sheriff's Higher Court, and had more summary powers than the ordinary Shire-mote or Sheriff's County Court, the jurisdiction and history of which I dealt with in my former paper. Like the latter court, the "tourn" was of Saxon origin. It was held, on circuit by the sheriff and bishop, in every hundred in every county, and took cognisance of all offences, whether ecclesiastical or civil. As from it the interesting better-known Courts Leet were derived, a few words as to the history of the *tourn* may be of interest.

This great court was held twice a year, when the presiding judges, the bishop and sheriff, used to go circuit—viz., within a month after Easter and within a month after Michaelmas.* On the examination of ecclesiastical offences, the bishop sat as judge and the sheriff as coadjutor (to inflict temporal punishments): while, on the trial of civil offences, the sheriff was judge, and the bishop, his assistant, to aid his sentences by, if necessary, ecclesiastical censures.

With regard to Lancashire, the first mention of a sheriff of that comparatively modern county occurs, Baines shows us, in the Pipe Rolls, preserved in the Exchequer office, under the date of 11 Henry II. (1165), "after which the returns of Lancashire sheriffs seems to be regular, under every year, at least for some time."

The Court Leet.

Just as out of the ancient County Court, or Sheriff's Court, was derived the court baron, as an inferior court of civil

* *Reeves*, vol. i., p. 6.

jurisdiction, so out of the *tourn* was developed the Court Leet (for a hundred or a manor)—a tribunal for the expeditious and easy distribution of justice where a hundred or manor lay too remote to be conveniently visited in the course of the tourn or circuit. In fact, the leet was only a localised court, a branch of the tourn made stationary in the hundred, to save the delay, inconvenience, and expense of the sheriff taking his circuit through so extensive a district as a whole county. The Hundred Court Leet was held before the steward or stede-ward (*i.e.*, place-ruler or guardian) of the hundred, and the Manorial Court Leet before the steward of the manor lord. All these, though held in the name of subjects, were *king's* courts.

With the hundred courts generally—which have survived to modern times only as courts of civil jurisdiction—I dealt in my previous paper. Of the Manorial Court Leet I need not treat at any length. An account of that court is given as an introduction to the first volume of *The Manchester Court-Leet Records.*

Baines records a singular instance, occurring in the time of Edward II., of the exactions to which the inhabitants of Lancashire were subjected, by the itinerant visits of some of the ostentatious sheriffs, in their periodical *tourns* through the county, and of the mode the inhabitants had of protesting and retaliating. The same historian reminds us that the six hundreds in Lancashire—Lonsdale, Amounderness, Blackburn, Leyland, West Derby, and Salford—were anciently styled "shires;" Leland, for instance (*temp.* Henry VIII.), speaking of Manchester as standing in Salford*shire.* In my former paper I referred to the other name, given to a hundred north of the Trent, namely "Wapentake," and referred to the origin of that term. Baines tells us that, in many parts of Lancashire, "lands and manors are held by suit to the Hundred Leet, and are called hundred lands." The Court

Leet was held at least twice in every year, and, like the tourn, within a month after Easter and Michaelmas respectively. It was held before the steward of the hundred, or his deputy, and a jury empanelled by him. The amercements were limited only by the assessment of at least two men, according to the measure of the fault, agreeably to a provision of Magna Charta. Prior to the passing of the Acts of Parliament giving to the "sessions" concurrent jurisdiction, the duties of the Court Leet embraced the punishment of every offence, "from eavesdropping and vagrancy, to high treason."

Where the Courts Leet are still, or lately were, in operation, their powers are, or were, used only for the abatement of nuisances, prevention of the use of deficient measures, and the appointment of certain local public officers, having duties somewhat similar to those of our constables or borough inspectors. The characteristic advantage this tribunal enjoyed was its freedom (1) from fees, and (2) from lawyers.

The next class of court, having criminal jurisdiction, I propose to mention is that of the

Ancient Borough Courts.

These courts, in operation in each of our counties, were, so far as they had jurisdiction in civil causes, dealt with by me in my previous paper—where I enumerated all of them which, as courts of civil jurisdiction, were in operation up to the year 1868. One court, however, I will particularise, as it will serve as an example of what were the jurisdiction and style of work possessed and undertaken by these ancient borough courts, viz.,

The Liverpool Court of Passage.

Like every other court of the same class, the Liverpool "Court of Passage" derived its existence and powers from charters—the oldest of which was dated in 9th John (1207),

and conferred the judicial authority. The second charter, 13th Henry III. (1229), gave the well-known special rights of Sac (the privilege of hearing and determining civil suits) and Soc (the privilege of having suit of court from his tenants), Thol (the privilege of having toll or custom from buyers of sellers within the manor) and Theom (the privilege of having a race of villeins), and Infaugetheof (the privilege of trying thieves within the manor)—which imported the criminal jurisdiction. Sir James A. Picton tells me that the sittings of the court have been held continuously, and that its criminal jurisdiction is still exercisable by the magistrates sitting in quarter sessions. He also states that it was formerly called the Port Moote and Court Leet, and that the presentments of the grand jury form an important part of its records. The burgesses were, it appears, exempt by charter from the jurisdiction of the Wapentake and Hundred Courts.

With regard to the unsettled question as to the exact origin of the term "Passage" (at the enquiry before the commissioners in 1833, it was mentioned that the court was anciently written "pay-sage"), Sir James A. Picton says: "I rather think it arose in this way. The original jurisdiction was over causes between burgesses, who were forbidden by their burgess oath to carry their cases before any other tribunal. In process of time jurisdiction was assumed over cases arising between foreigners 'passing' through the town and port, and taking ship, who could not conveniently wait for the high courts."

In Kuerden's notes of an "extent" of the manor of Manchester, dated 15 Edward II. (1322), and printed in Baines' *History*, reference is made to the ancient Manchester Manor Court, which was held every three weeks, and at which ten local manor lords (viz., "the lord of Childwall, the lord (half) of Harewood, the lord of Wittington, the lord of Pilkington

and Undesworth, the lord of Burnchill, the lord of Rumsworth and Lostock, the lord of Lenton, the lord of Ashton-under-Line, and the lord of Worthington") owed suit of court, and were called "Judges of the Court of Manchester by ancient custom;" the proceedings in the court being "according to custom and according to the common law of England." This court had criminal jurisdiction.

Finally, among our list of criminal courts, we have

The Courts held by the Justices of the Peace.

The history of these courts, and of the office of justice of the peace, has often been written; and I need not here dwell upon the subject. I will only specify what actual set of courts of this class are in operation—as they have been from time immemorial—in the two counties in question.

1. "General quarter sessions" of each county, and of certain boroughs in each county. (These, though principally criminal courts, have and use, in certain matters, civil jurisdiction).

2. "General sessions of the peace," held in Lancashire only; unique, in fact, among all the English counties.

3. "Special sessions" of each county, and of certain boroughs in each county.

4. "Petty sessions" for various county divisions, and for certain boroughs in each county.

It now remains for me to deal shortly with the courts I have already specified of *special* jurisdiction. And first with

The Port-mote Court.

Only one of these courts has, under the above name, survived to the present century, *viz.*, the Port-mote Court of Chester. This, in its jurisdiction with respect to civil disputes between party and party, I dealt with in my previous paper. The original foundation of the court I have not been able to trace; but the court was, no doubt, created by very early charter.

In 1867 an act was passed intituled: "An act to authorise the quarter sessions of the peace for the borough and city of Chester and county of the same city, and the Port-mote and Pentice Courts for the city of Chester, to be held at the Castle of Chester, and to confer additional powers upon the sheriff of the county of Chester in exoneration of the sheriff of the city of Chester." From the preamble we learn that the general quarter sessions for the borough and city of Chester, and county of the city, and the Port-mote and Pentice Courts for the city, had previously been held in the town hall; but that, in consequence of the town hall being destroyed by fire, it was necessary to be enacted that the courts mentioned should, "for the greater facility and convenience to the suitors" and the public, be held in Chester Castle, "although such castle (albeit situate within the walls) was not within the borough or county of the city," owing to its exception by the charter of Henry VII. and an act of the reign of George III.

Manchester had its Port-mote Court, mentioned several times in our charter of 1301 (see *Baines*). In *Kuerden's* "extent" of the Manor of Manchester, dated 15 Edward II., already quoted from, reference is made to the "Port-mote of the Burgh of Manchester, held 4 times a year, at which every Burgess of the aforesaid Borough, or his eldest son or his wife, shall come 4 times a year without *essoin* or summons;" and also to the holding, "where it should be necessary," of a lagh-mote "between any port-mote, for the purpose of despatching the complaints of applicants; and in which port-mote an inquisition ought to be held after the manner of an assize of Bread and ale."

Salford, too, had, it may be mentioned, its port-mote, as well as its lagh-mote (see the Earl of Chester's charter, *temp.* Henry III., set out in *Baines*).

Other Courts of Special Jurisdiction.

The history of ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS has often been written. The Ecclesiastical Courts of Lancashire and Cheshire, consisting of the Consistory Courts (of which that at Chester is the only ancient one) and the Archdeacons' Courts, do not need special notice here; nor do the CORONERS' COURTS (held for the purpose of proving causes of deaths and of fires), for they have also their numerous historians and recorders.

A curious class of courts is that of the PIE POUDRE COURTS—a great number of these were anciently held in each of our counties—the jurisdiction of which extended over the management of markets and fairs. They have fallen entirely into disuetude. The official title of the court was *Curia pedis pulverizati*—a name derived, probably, either (1) from the dusty state of the suitors' feet, or (2) because justice was there done as speedily as dust can fall from the foot. Or the name may have been derived from the old French, *pied puidreaux*, a pedlar or petty chapman in the habit of resorting to fairs or markets. The judge was the market-lord's steward, whose right of interference extended to the redressing of all commercial injuries, done in that very fair or market, and not in any preceding one; so that the "injury must be done, complained-of, heard and determined, within the compass of one and the same day, unless the fair continued longer."

A similar court was the COURT OF THE CLERK OF THE MARKET—a tribunal incident to every fair and market, to punish *misdemeanours* therein (as the Court of Pie Poudre was to determine disputes relating to private or *civil* property). The object of the court was principally the "recognizance of weights and measures;" to try whether these were according to the true standard. The standard was anciently committed to the custody of the bishop, who appointed

some "clerk," under him, to narrowly watch the abuse of weights and measures. Hence this officer, though usually a layman, was called the "*clerk* of the market." The functions of this court were superseded by the Act of 5 and 6 William IV., c. 63.

The last set of purely local courts of special jurisdiction are the usual COPYHOLDERS' COURTS, held in connection with every manor. These, unlike the Courts Baron and the "Courts Leet," concern only the tenants of the manor; and were used for the purpose of proving (1) claimants' title to copyhold land, held of the manor, and (2) the rents, services, and other charges and burdens under which the property was, or is to be, held.

Local Commission Courts.

In addition to the foregoing essentially local courts, there were held, in each of the counties in question, periodical local courts or sittings (under special commissions) of the metropolitan courts. Beside the usual sittings at assizes, there were courts held of "Justices of Trail-baston," and courts of "Justices Itinerant of Forests." Baines has numerous records of the proceedings of these Forest Courts in Lancashire. To these records I would refer you for very much interesting matter.

The following is, I believe, a complete list, classified by myself, of all these local sittings (or rather, of the courts locally represented) which have been held in Lancashire and Cheshire, for the trial or hearing of civil, criminal, or special causes or matters.

A. *Civil.*

1. Courts of Itinerant Justices "in Eyre" (of common pleas).
2. Courts of Justices of "Assize" and "Nisi Prius."

[Prior to the grant to the respective counties of "palatinate" rights, and also after the statute of

Henry VIII., these justices were commissioned at Westminster.]

3. Courts of Justices of "Trailbaston."*

[These judges were appointed, in addition to the justices itinerant, from the latter end of Edward I.'s reign to the middle of that of Richard II.,—after which no commissions were issued for these courts *(Foss).*]

[Yorkshire would appear to be the southernmost county in which were held courts of the "President and Council of the North," under the (unconstitutional) commission of 31 Henry VIII.]

B. *Criminal.*

4. Courts of Justice of "Gaol Delivery" [see note to Nos. 1 and 2].
5. Courts of Justices of "Oyer and Terminer" [ditto].

C. *Mixed or Special.*

6. Courts of Justices Itinerant of Forests:
   (*a*) Court of "Attachments" or Wood-mote Court.
   (*b*) Court of "Regard" or "Survey of Dogs."
   (*c*) Court of Swein-mote.
   (*d*) Court of "Justice Seat."
7. Courts of Special Justices of "Oyer and Terminer" (concerning purveyors, "villains," and certain public institutions), under statutes of 36 Henry VIII., 1 Richard II., and 39 Elizabeth, 4 and 6.

   [For Lancashire, the commissions were issued from the Duchy Court.]
8. Courts of Commissioners of "Wards and Liveries" (established by Henry VIII.).

   [The processes of these courts were founded on those of the Duchy Chamber of Lancaster.]

* For the origin of this interesting term, see Wharton's *Law Lexicon.*

9. Courts of Commissioners under "The Statute of Bankrupts" (13 Elizabeth).
10. Courts of Commissioners of Sewers.
11. Courts of various Commissioners of Enquiry, Examination, &c. [See Coke, 4 Inst.]

[After the "palatinate" rights were conferred, the commissions for the above Courts were issued from the Palatine Courts, even after the statute of 27 Henry VIII.—which did not affect them.]

[There were probably held in our counties also local courts of "general surveyors," under statute of 33 Henry VIII., and of "augmentations," under letters patent of 38 Henry VIII.]

I have now exhausted my denomination and classification of those various courts of justice—having civil, criminal, or special jurisdiction—which have ever (so far as national or local history can guide us) prevailed or ruled in the respective counties with which we are particularly concerned. The subject has never, I believe, been dealt with in relation to any of the English counties—it would, in fact, as to any of them beside our own (except, perhaps, Middlesex and Durham) be of little importance or interest. I trust, therefore, my task has not been accomplished, or attempted, without some profit or pleasure accruing to members of our Society, or without some assistance, however slight, being rendered to, at least, a few of the enthusiastic investigators into the ancient local institutions and customs of Lancashire and Cheshire.

THE CHARTERS OF MANCHESTER AND SALFORD.

BY GEORGE ESDAILE.

IT has seemed to me to be very singular that Salford should have given its name to the civil hundred or wapentake, and that Manchester, certainly a more important place in Roman times, should have been so completely civilly ignored in the Saxon and Norman periods, although in the latter times superior ecclesiastically to Salford.

On turning to the pages of *Domesday Book*, we find that King Edward the Confessor held Salford, and I think that in this regal holding we have a clue to the reason for the manor of Salford giving the name to the hundred; but perhaps a more cogent reason was that the manor was co-extensive with the hundred (*Domesday Book*, p. 270*a*), "Ad hoc m vel Hund," and lower down on the same page "Tot' m Salford cū Hund." Again, on the same page, we see the mention of Salford town, demesne, or manor (as apart from the berewick) is included in the following words: "The King held Salford. Therein 3 hides and 12 ploughs for the land. Waste and forest 3 leagues long and as much wide, and therein many hays (for deer) and an eirie of hawks." Then follow entries of berewicks pertaining to the manor or hundred. And we further see that all that is given respecting Manchester is about the two churches of

St. Mary's and St. Michael's, and the lands they were holding in the Salford manor or hundred. Where these churches were, whether in Manchester proper or not, is apart from the question before us. There are some who will no doubt at once reject as untenable such an argument as that, as two churches had lands in Manchester, therefore there were two churches in Manchester proper, whilst some will hold with it; others may say that because there is not any mention of a church in Salford, therefore Salford was of less importance. Neither argument is proved by *Domesday Book*, as there are known instances of a church existing in some particular place, but remaining unnoticed in *Domesday*.

It has been supposed that Manchester was independent of Salford, either by being a "borough" or in some other way; our only hope of elucidation is by examining all the early documents bearing on the question.

From the 26th clause of the Charter of Thomas de Gresley to Manchester, in 1301, we gain some little light. "He that breaketh assize either of bread or ale shall forfeit 12^{d} to the use of the lord" (of the manor of Manchester).

Sir H. Merewether, in his *History of Boroughs*, p. 544, holds that this clause shows that Manchester was at the time *separated from the county*, or this would have been inquired into by the *sheriff* in his *tourn* (Mag. Char., cap. 35). From this arises the question, Was there in the gift of all the land between the Ribble and the Mersey, by the Conqueror, to Sir Roger de Poictou, and in the grant of Manchester, by the latter, to Nigellus, any extraordinary exception, sufficient to account for the separation of Manchester from the county, as far as the sheriff was concerned, as mentioned by Sir H. Merewether? We know of the limited freedom of the berewick of Rochdale, and that "the rest of the lands of the whole manor were free from all customs except danegeld, and that some of them were even

free from that tax." Did the freedom from this tax confer a status of which we have no record? We are insensibly led into such a line of thought by the following entry in *Domesday Book*, under Lailand Hundred: "The men of this manor and of Salford did not work according to custom for the king at the hall, nor did they reap in August, they only made one 'hay' in the wood, . . . and they were subject to the same fines and amerciaments as other superior manors."

It has been said that the Charter to Salford—granted before 28th October, 1232—was the model for that of Manchester, as in it there is such a similarity of matter and manner of the clauses as to be almost identical. But I submit that although both in the main are practically copies of the "Cinque Ports" Charter, yet in that of Manchester the *penalties* are considerably higher; showing possibly that the persons to be fined were of a wealthier class than their brother burghers of Salford. As an example of this, take corresponding clauses from each. From Manchester, clause 3: "Also if any burgess shall implead any burgess of (or for) any debt, and he (the debtor) shall acknowledge the debt, the reeve may appoint him a day, to wit, the eighth; and if he shall not come at the day, he shall pay 12^{d} for forfeiture of the day to the aforesaid lord; and he shall pay the debt and to the reeve 8^{d}." From Salford, clause 4: "If any Burgess shall sue another burgess for any debt and he acknowledge the debt, the Reeve may appoint a day for him to appear (in court) viz. the eighth; and if he comes not he shall pay me 12^{d} for forfeiture of the day and pay the debt, and the Reeve 4^{d}."

In spite of the similarity between the two, there are divergencies; examples of which may be interesting, if not too wearisome. The 4th clause in the Manchester Charter does not appear in that of Salford—"and if any one maketh

complaint of anything and shall not find surety and bondsmen and afterwards is willing to withdraw his complaint, he shall be without forfeiture."

Clause 5 also of the Manchester Charter is not in that of Salford—"also if any burgess in the borough shall wound any burgess on the Lord's Day, or from noon on Saturday until Monday, he shall be in forfeiture of 20/- and if on Monday, or on the other days of the week he shall wound any one, he shall fall into the penalty of 12^{d} towards the aforesaid lord."

Clause No. 6 has no parallel in the Salford Charter. As this may be interesting to show how our forefathers were kept in order, I give it in full: "Also if any burgess shall quarrel (certaverit) with any one and through anger shall strike him, without bloodshed, and shall be able to return to his house without challenge from the Reeve, or his servants, he shall be free from the plea of the Reeve. And if he shall be able to justify the assault against him, on whom he committed it, he shall do well. But if nevertheless, by the counsel of his friends, he may make peace with him, this also (he may do) without forfeiture to the Reeve."

In those clauses which relate to merchandise, market standing, and burgage, there is greater explicitness and power granted to the burgesses in the Manchester Charter than in that of Salford, notably in No. 20 (Manchester): "also the Burgesses may arrest men, whether knights or priests or clerks, for their debts, if they shall be found in the borough;" as against clause 13 (Salford), "Moreover the burgesses may arrest their debtors for debts contracted in the borough, if the debtor acknowledge the debt, unless they hold a tenement in the Borough."

Again, in the Manchester Charter cannot be found anything approaching to the restriction in clause 12 (Salford), wherein a burgess may mortgage, sell his burgage to any,

unless the Heirs wish to buy it and then the nearest shall have the preference, saving the feudal lord's service, so *that the burgage or tenement be not sold to Religion* (Ita s' quod ill'd burgag' no' alienet' i' religio'e). The fee of 4d. is the same to the feudal lord in each clause in either charter (26 Salford, 33 Manchester).

It cannot be positively said by any one that 1301, the date of the Manchester Charter, was the date of the commencement of the being of "the borough" of Manchester, in the face of the evidence given by a deed of 20 Edward I., 1291-2, wherein Christian de Hoton granted to Geoffrey de Chaderton that *burgage* in Mamecestre, to wit, which I had of the gift of Sir Hubert Grelle, rector of the church of Childwall, paying 4s. yearly. This grant is put beyond question by the names and positions of the witnesses, Albert Grelle Sheriff, W. Holand de Holand, Henr' de Trafford, &c. This is found in the Kuerden MS. in the Chetham Library, sm. 4to, p. 89.

Manchester was, therefore, a borough in 1291-2. Neither can it be safely urged that 1291-2 first saw Manchester a borough, for we have an "Extent" of the manor of Manchester, taken before Thomas de Normanville, at Mamecestre, 25th April, 1282, in which we read: "There is an assise rent of burgages in Mamecestre, which yield yearly £7. 3s. 2d."—Est ibi redditus assisus burgagios in Mamecestr, &c. (Harland's *Mamecestre*, i., p. 133), and (on p. 134) in the same extent, "et de p'quisitis cur' burgi de Mamecestre viii s. et de p'litis et p'quisitis cur' baron' man'ij c s.," which I need scarcely Anglicise as, "and of the perquisites of the court of the borough of Manchester 8s., and of the pleas and perquisites of the court baron of the manor 100s."

I think that the so-called *first* charter to Manchester is but a recognition of the customs by the then lord, who thereby confirmed them to the burgesses (see Coke, 4 Inst. 222).

To hold by burgage is an ancient tenure proper to boroughs, whereby the inhabitants by custom held their lands or tenements of the king, or other lord of the borough, at a certain yearly rent. We have seen that Edward the Confessor was the superior lord of Salford and inferentially of Manchester; and I assume, and, I think, rightly, that both were boroughs in his day, and that the burgesses held of him. We know that when the conquest of England took place, these parts were granted to Roger de Poictou and eventually resumed by the king (William); and it will some day, I hope, be proved that these boroughs continued, though perhaps under different circumstances, until the respective confirmations by the Earl of Chester and de Gresley.

It should be remembered for our consolation that London is not mentioned in *Domesday Book*, neither separately nor in the county of Middlesex, though the burgesses of London are spoken of in another part of that record; but William in his charter recognised the rights of the burghwara or men of the borough.

Neither is Winchester mentioned as a borough in *Domesday Book*, but the burgesses are referred to. Sir Henry Ellis (in *Introduction to Domesday Book*, i. 190) suggests that both London and Winchester had peculiar and extensive privileges granted to them before the compilation of *Domesday;* therefore, the facts being well known, they need not be rehearsed, and such, I think, may have been the case with Manchester.

If I were asked to imagine when it was possible that there could have been a "first" charter for Manchester, I should suggest that possibly Manchester was a borough by prescription (that is beyond the memory of man), and enjoyed rights and privileges from Saxon or Danish times; for in the 31st section of the laws of Canute it is ordained that

there shall be one law for all boroughs, which, if we may judge by the general terms of the "recognitions," will be found to have been generally correct; only in particular instances, as in that of Manchester, is there a variation or an enlargement. Many clauses of both the Manchester and Salford Charters are similar to those confirmed or granted by the king, for the time being, to the Cinque Ports and other places; and we cannot ignore the conformity of the general clauses in all the charters alluded to, with passages on the question, in the laws of the Saxon king, Edgar, who lived 959–975 of our era.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

FORD, FROM EDMUND, EARL OF
STWICH, 1292.

NOTES ON "WODEN'S FORD" AND "WODEN'S CAVE," IN SALFORD.

BY J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.

AT the meeting of the Society, held on December 3rd, 1886,* Monsignor Gradwell, of Claughton, read a paper on "Woden's Ford." This ford, which is said to be on the old Roman road from Castlefield to Wigan, was described in the last century by Thomas Barritt, in one of his MSS. in the Chetham Library (No. 8,026), as follows:—

> "Worden or Woden's ford is a paved causeway across the river Irwel (from Hulme field, where Medlock loses itself in the aforesaid river to the opposite bank), but now lost to every observer since Irwel was made navigable."

Mr. Gradwell said he had come to the conclusion, but on what evidence, if any, was not stated, that the ford received its name from the forces which formed the army of Ethelfurth in his campaign in the year 613. He adds, naïvely enough, that there is no record to show whether or not that army occupied Manchester; but that, as apparently a matter of pure conjecture, "one could well imagine the minds of the rude soldiers being so struck with the firm structure of the stone road across the stream that they deemed it a work

* See the *Transactions* of the Society, vol. iv., p. 387.

Of this deed a photo-lithographic facsimile is given in the plate, and in the third line from the top the two words, "Wodarneleye" and "Wodarneforde," will be found.

In the MS. of Barritt, previously referred to (Chetham MSS. 8,026), he states "in an old writing in the possession of . . . which describes the boundaries of a certain portion of land thereabouts [*i.e.*, near 'the rocky cell' called Woden's Cave], it says 'by Worden's Ford and Worden's Den.'" It is most probable that the "old writing" so vaguely referred to, is this very charter (especially as I find that Barritt has copied an old pedigree now at Agecroft), and that it has been carelessly read, the words "Wodarneforde" and "Wodarneleye" being called "Worden's Ford" and "Worden's Den," the latter being a most unusual name to meet with in any old charter. It is amusing to note that "the site of Woden's Den" is to be found in the old large scale ordnance map, showing how one mistake begets another.

There can, to my mind at any rate, be no doubt that "Woden's Cave," or "Den," the name given to an excavation in the rocky bank near "Woden's Ford,"* took its name from the latter, and that both "Wodarneleye" and "Wodarneforde," which were evidently well known in 1292, are simply the meadow and ford of a man named "Wodarne," and have nothing whatever to do with the Saxon god Woden.

There is another point which may be mentioned. A writer in the *Manchester City News*, Notes and Queries column, in the issue for November 10th, 1883, states: "Some time ago I examined with care the fine collection of old maps of Lancashire, preserved in the Binns collection [at the

* A rude sketch of this appears in Barritt's MS. in the Chetham Library, already referred to, and a copy of this sketch has been given in Hibbert-Ware's *Foundations in Manchester* and Baines' *History of Lancashire.*

Free Library], Liverpool, and I then found that prior to 1770 or thereabouts, the place-name [Ordsall] is invariably spelled either Wordsall or Wordsal; the first appearance of the modern spelling, 'Ordsall,' is on Stockdale's Map, 1794." He derives the termination "sal" from the Anglo-Saxon "sale," a hall, and if that is so, may it not be suggested that in "Wordsall" we have a corruption or shortening of "Wodarnesall," or the hall or residence of this very "Wodarne," whose meadow and ford lay in close proximity to his dwelling-place?

In conclusion, I would direct special attention to the extreme importance, in every case of the derivation of place-names, in getting to the oldest-known spelling or form of the word before endeavouring to explain its meaning. It is undoubtedly true that every place-name has had a definite meaning at some time or other, and that very many of them are of very great antiquity, but the corruptions and phonetic spellings, which have been going on for some hundreds of years past, have, in many cases, completely changed the form of the word, and rendered it all but impossible to explain it in its present corrupt form. In very many instances, too, the older and uncouth names have entirely passed away, whilst in others simplified forms of the older names have come down to us. To take the names in this very charter, "Blakhouriding" and "Alvenemere" have, I think, entirely disappeared, whilst "Pennylburi" (which is written *Peneburi* in 1199) and "Pennylton" have been altered to our modern Pendlebury and Pendleton.

NOTES ON AN INSCRIBED STONE AT CATON.

BY WILLIAM O. ROPER.

FEW rivers can boast of passing through such magnificent scenery as the—

> stony shallow Lon,
> Which to old Lancaster its name doth lend.

From its cradle in Ravenstonedale to the point where its silvery ripples merge in the dark waves of Morecambe Bay, it passes from one scene of beauty to another, from barren mountain side to richly-clothed valley, from wide dale to narrow gorge; from fell lands, still in their natural bareness, to spots which nature and man have combined to render beautiful.

From time immemorial have the glories of the Lune been sung. Spenser alludes to its stony bed, and old Michael Drayton in his sonorous lines thus details the geographical features of the river:—

> The long wand'ring Lon, . . .
> As she comes ambling on from Westmerland, where first
> Arising from her head, among the mountains nurst,
> By many a pretty spring, that hourly getting strength,
> Arriving in her course in Lancashire at length,
> To Lonsdale shews herself, and lovingly doth play
> With her dear daughter Dale.
> . . . . . .

When Lac, the most lov'd child of this delicious Dale,
And Wemming on the way, present their either's spring.
Next them she Henburne hath, and Robourne, which do bring
Their bounties in one bark, their mistress to prefer,
That she with greater state may come to Lancaster.
. . . . . .
And every village smokes at Wakes with lusty cheer,
Then "Hey" they cry "for Lun" and "Hey for Lancashire,"
That one high hill was heard to tell it to his brother.

Many a later writer has stood on the road to Caton to gaze upon the wonderful scenery at the Crook of Lune. Far below him lies the river, swirling and dashing round the base of the rock on which centuries ago stood an anchorite's cell: to the left the waters sweep towards Lancaster in a broad and even flow between lofty trees; to the right the woods trend sharply upwards to the old Height of Quernmore, while, in front, the long valley of the Lune opens out towards Westmoreland, past the grey tower of Hornby, the home of the victor of Flodden—past the massive walls of Thurland, the ancient seat of the Tunstalls—past the venerable church of Kirkby Lonsdale,—on over the Yorkshire fells to where the mighty front of Ingleborough lowers against the sky.

But though artists have painted and poets have sung of the valley of the Lune, comparatively few wander up the river banks, and, therefore, few know of the archæological treasures which the valley contains. One of these is to be found inserted in the wall of the old church at Caton.

A Roman milestone found in the bed of Artle Beck tells us that the Roman soldiers had passed by Caton. Then a few deeds of the thirteenth century, preserved in the chartulary of Lancaster Priory, give a few particulars about the place. By the first deed, Vivian de Hesham, Roger Gernet and John Gernet, hereditary lay lords of the vill of Caton, bind themselves and their successors not to sell the right of patronage in the chapel of Caton. The second deed is a grant from

Vivian Gernet de Hesham to the church of the Blessed Mary of Lancaster of all his right in the advowson of the chapel of Caton. By the third deed, Roger, son of Vivian de Hesham, grants to the priory of Lancaster, for the welfare of his soul and that of Wymark, his wife, his third part of the cornmill at Caton, and of the mill for fulling cloth at Caton. The next deed is a grant from John, son of Roger Gernet, of Caton, to the priory of Lancaster of an acre of land in Caton. By the fifth deed, John de Houton grants to John, son of Roger Gernet, of Caton, and to the priory of Lancaster the watercourse of Artle Beck for their mill. And by the last of these deeds, John Gernet, lord of Caton, grants to the prior of Lancaster all his right in the advowson of the church of Caton with certain land near that church. From that time to the present the church of Caton has remained annexed to the vicarage of Lancaster.

But when we have exhausted these particulars we seem to have exhausted the history of Caton, without throwing any light upon the inscription now inserted in the wall of the church.

Of the original church nothing remains except the ancient doorway placed in the west wall of the north aisle of the present building. The doorway is formed by a single stone resting upon two square-headed columns. This archway, which was formerly the principal entrance to the church, bears upon it a crude representation of the Temptation in Eden, but owing to the floor of the old church having been raised by the numerous interments within it, a portion of the stone forming the arch was ruthlessly cut away to increase the height of the doorway.

In the small space enclosed by the archway there are now inserted fragments of at least twelve stones which have probably marked the last resting-places of early lords of Caton. The fragments were discovered amongst the

masonry of the old church and inserted in their present position when the church was restored in 1865. One of these stones bears a beautifully carved cross, with a sword and the following inscription :—

VS : NAZAREITH CRVCIFIXVS .... IVDEOR
IOES V : LE : PITH ⁝ ROGER ⁝ ... BVRGH : SENIVR

With the exception of the last five letters, the inscription is in two lines, one on each side the cross and near the edges of the stone. Probably a few letters in the middle of each line are missing owing to a break in the stone. The last five letters are placed near the shaft of the cross and look as if the carver had not had room for them in their proper place. The upper line of the inscription seems fairly clear :—

IESVS : NAZAREITH CRVCIFIXVS [REX] IVDEOR[VM]

Jesus of Nazareth crucified (king?) of the Jews.

The first half of the second line is much more difficult to read :—

IOES V : LE ⁝ PITH ⁝ ROGER ⁝ ... BVRGH : SENIVR

It has been suggested that the first four words may be English, but as the carving on the stone seems to be late thirteenth or early fourteenth century work, a bilingual inscription would be improbable. Clearly the last three letters of the first word are OES, and apparently there is an I before these, making the word IOES, which may stand for IOHANNES. The next letter is clearly V, and may stand for VEL. Of the next two letters the second one is E, but the first one may be either L or intended as an old form of TH. Then follow four letters, PIT, and possibly H or CH. The whole line would, therefore appear to read

IOES V : LE : PITH : ROGER ⁝ .... BVRGH : SENIVR

Johannes vel le Pith (or Pitch) Roger (de) Burgh Senior.

Whether these were the names of two early lords of Caton, the records of the little village are too scanty to enable us to determine. But my object in bringing the subject before the Society will have been served if the attention which may be drawn to the inscription leads to its elucidation and brings those interested in such matters to see one of the many objects of archæological interest in the Valley of the Lune.

NOTES ON THE COLLECTION OF DEEDS PRESERVED AT THE EAST HALL, HIGH LEGH, CHESHIRE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THOSE RELATING TO MANCHESTER AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.

LAST year I had an opportunity of directing the attention of the members of this Society to the fine collection of Lancashire deeds and papers preserved at Agecroft Hall, near Manchester.* Since then I have had a very large collection of Cheshire deeds placed in my hands, for examination and arrangement, by Lieut.-Col. H. Cornwall Legh, and as I have there found many interesting documents relating to Manchester and the neighbourhood, it seemed fitting that a short account of them should be brought to the notice of this Society.

I may say at the outset that I recently read a full description of these High Legh deeds before the Chester Archæological Society, which will be published in that Society's *Journal* for this year, 1887, and to which I would refer those of my readers, who may wish to know more particulars of the Legh family deeds and those relating to various places in Cheshire, than can be given here.

HIGH LEGH, which was visited by the members of this Society on the 22nd May, 1886, is a small township, about

* This paper is printed in the Society's *Transactions* for 1886, pp. 199 to 220.

five miles from Knutsford, and forming part of the extensive parish of Rosthorne. As early as the middle of the thirteenth century this township was divided into two moieties, each held by a family named Legh, but whether or not these two families had a common ancestor is a very debatable question. As far as my researches go, I may say there is nothing to show that such was the case, and the two families, although frequently intermarrying, have remained distinct to the present day. Lieut.-Col. Cornwall Legh, of the East Hall, High Legh, whose deeds I am now referring to, spells his name LEGH; whilst his near neighbour, Captain Egerton Leigh, of the West Hall, High Legh, spells his name LEIGH. The grounds of these two Halls are only separated by a high wall, but the East Hall is by far the larger building of the two, although not so old as the other. Each of these Halls has its own private chapel or church situate in close proximity to it, and the tenants of the one estate attend the one, and those of the other estate the other.

The total number of deeds now preserved at High Legh is about eleven hundred,* and when they reached me they were in a state of great confusion. They have now been carefully sorted and arranged, and on the back of each deed is a short endorsement of its contents. A calendar of them filling two folio volumes has also been made, so that it is

* The deeds in Groups I. and II. are numbered consecutively, Nos. 1 to 429. This is exclusive of the contents of the four folio volumes of the High Legh MSS., the pedigrees and other rolls, &c. As other bundles of leases, &c., may some day be added to Group II., the numbers between 430 and 499 have not been filled up. Group III., the Miscellaneous Cheshire Deeds, therefore begins with No. 500, and the deeds in that group and in Nos. IV. and V. come down to No. 1,086. In addition to these there are nearly a hundred deeds and papers relating to Birstall, co. Yorks, Wakefield, Fiskerton, &c., not arranged or numbered. Thus the grand total of 1,100 deeds is shown to be rather below than above the mark.

now possible to ascertain the contents of each deed and to find it by its number. They have been divided into five large groups, and arranged as far as possible in chronological order in each group.

Group No. I. contains the deeds relating to the Legh family, two hundred and seventy-five in number, beginning about the year 1230, and coming down to 1828, the later deeds not having been sent to me for examination. There are also nine pedigree rolls, &c., relating to the Leghs and four relating to the Cornwall family. By the marriage of George Legh, of High Legh, Esq., with Anna Maria, daughter and sole heir of Francis Cornwall, Esq., last titular Baron of Burford, co. Salop, which took place about 1730, the Leghs became entitled to add all the quarterings of the Cornwalls to their own arms; and in the beautifully illuminated pedigree of the Leghs, brought down to 1811 by Francis Townsend, Esq., Windsor Herald, he allowed them no less than eighty-six quarterings to their shield of arms! This fine shield of arms I now exhibit to the meeting. A number of miscellaneous documents, letters, papers, &c., I have arranged in four folio volumes, bound in white vellum, and lettered the High Legh MSS. Vol. i. contains miscellaneous family papers, letters, &c., including a confirmation of the arms of Thomas Legh, of High Legh, on parchment, illuminated in gold and colours, signed by William Flower, Esq., Norroy, and R. Glover, Somerset Herald in 1580, and again confirmed by Richard St. George, Norroy, in 1613. There is also in this volume the original contract for the rebuilding of Warrington Bridge, dated 30th May, 1746,* after it had

* The masons who rebuilt the bridge were William Hatton, of Eccleston, near Prescot, and William Tilly, of Warrington. The two middle arches alone had been destroyed, and these they agreed to rebuild, exactly as the old ones were, for the sum of £228. It is very interesting to note that, amongst other things, they agreed to erect "upon the angle of the middle pillar of the bridge,

been destroyed to prevent its being used by the Young Pretender and his army in 1745. Vol. ii. contains papers, letters, &c., &c., relating to the Leghs of the East Hall, the Cornwalls of Burford, &c., &c. Vol. iii. contains papers and documents relating to Rostherne Church, with old plans of the church and of the seats, &c.; and vol. iv. contains the assessments for the land tax, in Bucklow Hundred, for the year 1734.

Group No. II. consists of deeds relating to the tithes of High Legh, Swinehead, &c., 1537 to 1753; a few deeds relating to the Leghs of Swinehead; leases of lands in High Legh, Swinehead, Sworton, and Comberbach; together with deeds relating to Millington, Oldgreavelane, &c. There is also a very valuable MS., written in 1619, entitled the Swinehead Chartulary, a folio volume containing copies of the charters, deeds, and other documents relating to the Leghs of Swinehead and to their lands.* The original documents are now lost, so that this volume is particularly valuable, as the information contained in these deeds would otherwise have been unknown had they not been copied here. The earliest deed is a grant by Roger,† Constable of Chester, to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, of lands in Comberbach, the date of which will be about 1210, and there are eighty deeds in all transcribed into this volume. At the end is an account of the births and baptisms, 1624 to 1641, of the children of Laurence Legh, of Swinehead, who married

a good and sufficient Watch house of stone as large as the place will admit of, with a convenient Dungeon under the said Watch house, arched over the top of the said Dungeon with stone." This watch house was probably an ancient chapel, like the one on the bridge between Salford and Manchester, where there was a similar dungeon.

* This volume was drawn up by George Owen, York Herald, in 1619, for Matthew Legh, of Swinehead, gentleman. It is written on paper, and on the first page is a shield of arms with six quarterings. I have had this MS. recently bound in white vellum.

† Roger de Lacy was Constable of Chester from 1190 to 1211.

Mary, daughter of Charles Bold, of Upton, co. Chester, in 1623.* This volume also contains full copies of the following six wills—Matthew Legh, 1512;† Richard Legh, 1552;‡ Joan Legh, widow, 1558; Richard Legh, 1582; Jane Legh, widow, 1585; Richard Legh, 1619—*not one* of which is now to be found at the Probate Court, Chester!

Group No. III. contains two hundred and eighty-four miscellaneous deeds relating to the following places in Cheshire: Alpraham, Strethull, Mere, Lymm, Knutsford (three bundles), Pickmere (the Cocker family), Chester, Golburne, Manley, Hargrave, in Neston parish, &c., &c. Many of these go back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and they contain much information which will be found of value to those engaged on the topographical or genealogical history of these places. Deed No. 771 is an account of the baptisms, marriages, &c., of the children of Peter Mainwaring, of Smallwood, co. Chester, gentleman, between the years 1603 and 1650. His eldest daughter, Eleanor, married Elias Ashmole, Esq., Windsor Herald, the founder of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and another, Elizabeth, married the Rev. Henry Newcome, the celebrated Nonconformist, whose name is so familiar to Manchester people.

Group No. IV. contains two large special collections of Cheshire deeds, the one relating to Thornton in the Moors, and the other to Sale. The former is arranged in seven bundles, and commences with two documents of about the year 1215, one of which is a grant of the "vill" or township

* These have been printed in the *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, for August, 1876, vol. ii., pp. 326-7.

† This will mentions "the Chapell of Seynt Anne within the parish church of Handley," co. Chester, of which, as far as I am aware, there is no other notice.

‡ This will was at Chester in Mr. Piccope's time, and was examined by him. The notes he made of it I have printed in *Wills and Inventories at Chester*, *Chetham Society*, N. S., vol. iii., p. 220. It cannot now be found.

of Thornton, from the celebrated Randle Blundeville, Earl of Chester, to Peter, his clerk or secretary. As Sale is so close to Manchester, it will probably be of interest to many members of this Society if I refer to the deeds relating to that township at some little length.

The deeds relating to the manor of Sale and to the family of the Masseys of Sale begin in the year 1335, and are eighty-three in number. The earlier ones have many references to the clergy of the parishes of Ashton-upon-Mersey, Northenden, Bowdon, &c.; and in 1407 there is a curious notarial instrument containing the will of Richard le Massey, of Sale, Esq., made in his house in Bridge Street, in the city of Chester. In 1461, there is an interesting document, which settled the lands of Hamo Mascy, of Rixton, co. Lancaster, upon Joan, his wife, for twelve years after his death, she to find, *inter alia*, "certain priests to do devine servicez for the saule of the sayd Hamond and his auncestres and for the goode prosperite and saule heele [soul's health] of the said Johanne and of the said childrez and all cresten saules." Deed No. 881 is a noteworthy award, dated 25th August, 1480, between Sir Randle Assheton, parson of Assheton upon Mersey, and Robert Vaudray, relating to land in Sale. In 1501, Randle Assheton, rector of the church of Ashton on Mersey bank, settled certain land in Sale in trust for the use and behoof of the "service of oure blessed ladie of Assheton opon Mercy bonke." A few years later there is a curious document, dated 1517, which is a precept from the Court of Canterbury, commanding that all persons who shall have destroyed any deeds, &c., of Adam Hulton, Esq., of Dean parish, co. Lancaster, and Alice his wife, daughter of John Hulton, of Farnworth, Esq., deceased,* be publicly

* For an account of the Hulton family, &c., see the Visitation of Lancashire in 1533, edited by the late Mr. Langton and myself, and printed for the *Chetham Society*, vol. xc., p. 209.

warned in their parish churches, prior to being excommunicated. How this deed came into this collection is not easy to understand. In 1557 the original will of Hamnet Massey, of Sale, Esq., occurs; no copy of which is now to be found at the Probate Court, Chester.* A deed of award, dated 1561, contains a curious word, which I have never previously met with in any Lancashire or Cheshire document. It states that Sir John Warburton was "to have and enjoye the *Manredden* and service of all the tenants and fermors of the moytie of the seid manor of Walton." "Manredden" is an old Saxon word, meaning "allegiance," and it is strange to find it used in a document so late as 1561. In 1621 there is a deed of partition of part of the common of Sale between the guardians of Edward Mosley, son and heir of Rowland Mosley, Esq., deceased, James Massey, Henry Legh, Edward Vawdrey, Esquires, and others. The amount so divided was eighty acres, one portion of which had already been done, but the remainder, thirty-three acres and thirty-two "ffoes"† of land, were to be taken in, lying about "the blacke lake," and to be divided according to every lord's "severall."‡ In 1667 there is a deed of feoffment of the schoolhouse erected on Sale common by George, Lord Delamer, Sir Thomas Brereton, of Handforth, Bart., Robert Tatton, of Withenshaw, Edward Legh, of Baguley, Richard Massey, of Sale, Esquires, and others, upon the one part, and Hugh Hobson, rector of Ashton-on-Mersey, and the churchwardens, upon the other part.

* This is one of the wills formerly at Chester, but now missing. It was seen by the Rev. J. Piccope, and his abstract of its contents I have printed in *Wills and Inventories at Chester, Chetham Society*, N. S., vol. iii., p. 222.

† Query a Cheshire form of "falls" of land, an old measure, meaning a square perch, formerly in use in Lancashire and Cheshire, but now forgotten.

‡ This curious word "severall" occurs in the *Manchester Court Leet Records*, but an exact explanation of its meaning is difficult to give. Here it seems to mean a "holding" or the amount of land held by each of the "lords" or charterers.

Group No. V., deeds relating to Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, London, &c., is subdivided as follows:—

LANCASHIRE DEEDS.

Deeds relating to the office of "Aulnager" in the county of Lancaster, 1539 to 1572, three in number.

Deeds relating to Manchester and Salford, 1420 to 1655. Sixteen deeds.

Deeds relating to the family of Trafford, of the Garrett, Manchester, and their lands in Manchester and Taxal, co. Chester, 1530 to 1575. Eight deeds.

Miscellaneous deeds relating to Manchester, 1679 to 1741. Ten deeds.

Deeds relating to Barton-upon-Irwell, co. Lancaster, 1583 to 1776, arranged in two bundles. Forty-one deeds.

Leases relating to Barton-upon-Irwell, 1631 to 1798. Twelve deeds.

Papers relating to a trial at Lancaster about lands in Barton, 1725.

Modern deeds and papers relating to Barton-upon-Irwell.

Leases relating to Openshaw, &c., near Manchester, 1588 to 1766. Nine deeds.

MISCELLANEOUS DEEDS.

Deeds and papers relating to Quick and Saddleworth, co. York, 1557 to 1718. Twelve documents.

Miscellaneous deeds relating to Lancashire, Derbyshire, London, &c., 1515 to 1751. Seven deeds.

Early deeds relating to Colwich, co. Stafford, *c.* 1250 to 1553. Twenty-two deeds. Some of these deeds have good seals attached to them.

Leases of messuages in London, 1657 and 1732.

Deeds and papers relating to Birstall, co. York, and other places in Yorkshire, 1389 to 1720. Tied up in three packets, but not yet arranged or endorsed. An interesting collection.*

Miscellaneous deeds, leases, &c., relating to Wakefield, co. York.* Of little or no interest.

* These deeds and papers came into the hands of the Leghs owing to the marriage of Henry Cornwall Legh, Esq., with Elizabeth, one of the two

Deeds relating to Fiskerton, co. Nottingham, 1640 to 1680.*
Of little or no interest.

The three deeds relating to the office of "Aulnager" in the county palatine of Lancaster are of some interest. The first, dated 16th April, 1539, is a grant of letters patent from King Henry VIII. relating to the improper making and folding up of "cottons" and other woollen goods and to the duties of the Aulnager.† The next is letters patent from Henry VIII., dated 15th May, 1544, authorising the King's Aulnager, William Trafford,‡ to exercise his authority in the town of Preston; and the third is a writ from Queen Elizabeth, dated 25th June, 1572, commanding an inquiry to be held concerning a matter in dispute between Thomas Legh,‡ plaintiff, and John Houghton and others, defendants, concerning six packs of "rugs" not sealed with the Aulnager's seal.

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daughters and co-heirs of Robert Hopkinson, of Wakefield, co. York, gentleman. The settlement made prior to this marriage (No. 254 of the Legh deeds) is dated 20th June, 1761, when Robert Hopkinson was dead. Deed No. 257 is a "rental of the estate of Miss Hopkinson and Miss Mary Hopkinson, co-heirs of Robert Hopkinson, deceased, in Birstall, Wakefield, &c.," taken in 1761, and No. 258 is a survey and valuation of Miss Hopkinson's estates in Yorkshire.

* These deeds formed part of the collection relating to the Masseys of Sale in Group IV. Samuel Cliffe, of Newark upon Trent, co. Nottingham, married Anne, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Richard Massey, of Sale and Nottingham, Esq., in 1694, and the Cliffes held some property at Fiskerton.

† The Aulnager (from A.-S. alne, an ell) had to see that the regulations contained in the various statutes for the manufacture, fulling, and dressing of woollen cloths, called "cottons," "friezes," and "rugs," &c., were duly complied with. He had a special seal, with which he and his deputy stamped all the bundles of woollen goods which were satisfactory. There were constant disputes between him and the rich Lancashire and Yorkshire clothiers (see *Calendar of Pleadings, Duchy of Lancaster*). The office was abolished by the statute 11 and 12 William III.

‡ See the will of William Trafford, of the Garrett, Esq., 1545, and that of his brother-in-law, Thomas Legh, of High Legh, Esq., 1589 (*Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories, Chetham Society*, vol. ii., p. 62 and p. 91), for references to the Aulnager's office.

The Manchester and Salford deeds, 1420 to 1655, do not call for much comment,* the most interesting being the articles of agreement for the sale of lands in Manchester and Salford, by Thomas Legh, of High Legh, Esq., to Humphrey Booth, of Salford, dated 22nd April, 1619, for the sum of £850. The deeds relating to the family of the Traffords, of the Garrett, an old Hall in Manchester, are, however, of more value, and have thrown much new light upon the history of a family of which very little was previously known. Thomas Legh, of High Legh, Esq., married Isabel, one of the daughters and co-heirs of George Trafford, of the Garrett, Esq., whose two sons, William and Ralph, had both died unmarried, and in 1561 the estates were divided amongst the five co-heiresses or their representatives.† Owing to this marriage the Leghs acquired considerable property in Manchester, as well as lands at Saddleworth and Quick, co. York.‡ The miscellaneous Manchester deeds chiefly relate to a messuage called "Barlow Cross."‖

By the marriage of George Legh, of High Legh, Esq., with Anne, one of the three daughters and co-heirs of John Booth, of Barton-upon-Irwell, Esq., which took place in 1587, he acquired a large property in that township. In fact, the whole of the Booth estate was subsequently divided

* The derivation of Irlam is shown in deed No. 949, dated 1465, where it is called "Irwilham in Barton." In this same deed certain lands in Manchester are called "Jonesfelds de Hulton and Tugelfeld." In three other deeds, 1536 to 1540, a parcel of land, called "Le payvey" or "Le peyvey," lying in the Milnegate, in Manchester, is mentioned. This name I had previously met with in other old Manchester deeds.

† See *Manchester Court Leet Records*, vol. i., p. 44, where an account of this family and the division of the estates will be found in the notes.

‡ Hence the deeds referred to on p. 266.

‖ See *Court Leet Records*, vol. i., p. 34 *n*. This messuage is described in 1721 as follows, "all that messuage and tenement in the parish of Manchester, near the lanes and highways leading from the town of Manchester towards the Ancoats, and also towards Newton, commonly known by the name of Barlow Cross."

between the Leghs and the Traffords, Edmund Trafford, Esq. (son and heir apparent of Sir Edmund Trafford, Knt.), having married Margaret, another daughter and co-heir of John Booth, in or about the year 1585.* The Traffords had ultimately about three-fourths of the manor of Barton, and the Leghs one-fourth. The Traffords and the Leghs still own these estates, which have increased enormously in value of late years. George Legh, by the above-named Anne Booth (who was his *second* wife), had an only son and heir, George Legh, of Barton, Esq., who married and had issue George Legh, of Barton, Esq., who died, without issue, in December, 1674, when his estates passed to his cousin Richard, son and heir apparent of Henry Legh, of High Legh, Esq. The Barton and Openshaw deeds and leases are sixty-two in number, and contain much information of value, including the names of places and fields in those and the adjacent townships.† No. 1013 is a good pedigree of the family of Booth of Barton, coming down to the year 1674.

The deeds relating to Saddleworth and Quick, co. York, but not far from Manchester, relate to lands which formerly belonged to the family of the Traffords, of the Garrett, and which, on the division of the estates of that family, passed

* By a deed of partition, dated 1585, the Booth estate was divided between Edmund Trafford, Esq., and Margaret his wife, who had the one half, and Anne Booth (then unmarried) and John Molyneux, gent., and Dorothy his wife (the other daughter and co-heir of John Booth), who had the other half between them. The share of John Molyneux and his wife was subsequently acquired by the Traffords. This deed of partition is most minute, specifying all the buildings of the manor house or Old Hall, and those of the New Hall in Barton Park, and naming all the fields, &c., and giving the names of the tenants in Barton, Bradford, Ardwick, &c.

† To quote only one instance out of many, a lease of land in Openshaw to Samuel Birch, of Openshaw, clerk, dated 27th June, 1668, mentions the following "parcels of land"—"the Hill, the Morefield adjoining to it, the Great Rishcroft, the Midle Rishcroft, the Little Rishcroft, the Croft about the house, the Carre, the Intacke, the Prist Meadow, the two Ouldfields, three Newfields and the two Eybridges, and one close called the Edichcrofte."

to the Leghs, as already mentioned. The latter appear to have parted with this property towards the end of the seventeenth century. A copy of the will of James Farrer, of Ewood, co. York, Esq., lord of the manors of Saddleworth and Quick, dated 20th January, 1717-18, occurs in this collection.

The remaining deeds need not detain us long. Those relating to Colwich, co. Stafford, near the town of Stafford, going back as they do to the middle of the thirteenth century, are of much local interest. They are twenty-two in number, commencing *c.* 1250 and coming down to 1553. In one deed, dated 1285, there is mention of the church of St. Cedde, at Colwych, and there are occasional references to the clergy of the church. In a deed dated 1356 the curious names of William Bythewater and Richard Abovetheway occur. There are many Wolseley names mentioned, and there are references to the river Trent, the bridge over the same, a mill pool there, &c. These deeds came into the possession of the Legh family on account of the marriage of George Legh, of High Legh, Esq., in 1580, with Elizabeth, the daughter and co-heir of Peter Leycester, of Tabley, Esq., by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter and heir of Edward Colwych, of Colwych, Esq.

As already stated, I have in this paper only described, at any length, those of the Legh deeds, which have any reference to Manchester and the immediate neighbourhood, or to Lancashire generally. That there should be so many in a collection of deeds relating to an estate, situate in the very middle of Cheshire, is only another argument in favour of having all local collections of deeds and papers properly examined, as it is impossible to say what interesting documents may not by this means be brought to light. Who would have expected to find a series of papers throwing light on the history of the Traffords, of Garrett Hall, in

Manchester, or on the manor of Sale, co. Chester, in the hands of a family living a few miles from Knutsford? In addition to these purely local records, there is the fine series of deeds relating to the Leghs, those relating to High Legh, Knutsford, and many other places in Cheshire, the very complete collection relating to Thornton-in-the-Moors, and the interesting early deeds relating to Colwich, co. Stafford, and Birstall, co. York. The whole of these constitute a very remarkable collection, and every antiquary cannot but be grateful to Lieut.-Col. Cornwall Legh that he has been willing to have them properly arranged and calendared. I have little hesitation in saying that there are many similar collections of deeds (although perhaps not so large), both in Lancashire and Cheshire, the contents of which are at present entirely unknown; and I shall only be too glad, if the interest, which these High Legh deeds have excited, should stimulate the owners of these unarranged records to have their treasures similarly examined and made available for historical purposes. It is not everyone who is the fortunate possessor of such old records, and whilst there are many persons who would give much to be the owners of such evidences of undoubted rank and position in days gone by, there is no doubt that many of the present representatives of the old local families do not appear sufficiently to appreciate what has come down to them from their ancestors. The intrinsic value of such documents is greatly increased when they are chronologically arranged and properly endorsed, and at the same time all danger of their being lost or mislaid in the future is avoided.

TYPES OF SEPULCHRAL URNS.

BY H. COLLEY MARCH, M.D. LOND.

IF we set side by side the various sepulchral vases that have been discovered in this country, we may see that they are easily separable into three great classes which we may speak of, colloquially, as the mug, the flask, and the bottle; and that these three great classes belong respectively to three great races — the Celtic, the Teutonic, and the Roman. But the fact that these three races of men have all sprung from a single source, are all descendants of one Aryan family, makes it desirable to go back, for a moment, to the time anterior to the Dispersion. If it is permissible to infer that what the early Indo-Europeans all did or said alike, had been said or done by their common progenitors, and that differences of language and variations of practice arose after their separation, we can form a fairly clear conception of the knowledge and arts of those more distant days.

The primitive Aryans, it would seem, lived in a cold climate, for they clothed themselves with the skins of wild animals. They were a neolithic race, unacquainted with the working of metals. If they tilled the soil, their agriculture was of the rudest and simplest kind; and if they made vessels of clay, it was not with the potter's wheel.

Description of Plate I.

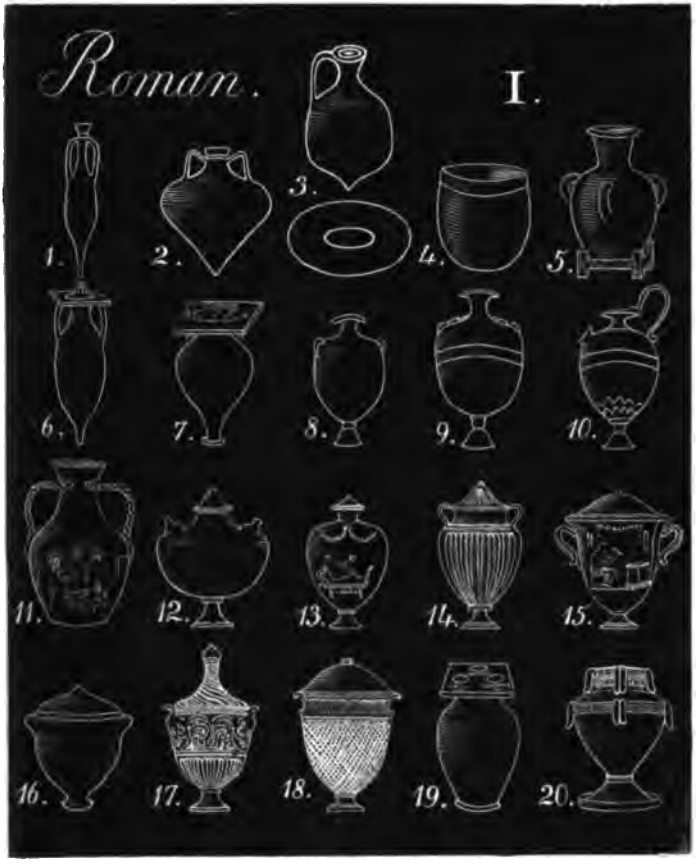
GRÆCO-ROMAN: BOTTLE TYPE.

Food Vessels.

Figs. 1, 2. Græco-Roman amphoræ (*Brit. Museum*).
3. Earthenware vessel and terra-cotta stand, from Pompeii (*Keller*, i. 151).
4. Græco-Roman olla (*Brit. Museum*).
5. Ancient Egyptian vessel (*Perrot et Chipiez*, ii. 368).

Cinerary Urns, from *Bartoli's* Plates, published in 1697.

6. One of four urns, *sunk into the ground* at each corner of a mosaic pavement. Size, "palmi 3 oncio 6." Villa Corsina, Via Aurelia, Rome (*Bart.*, pl. 14).
7. Villa Corsina (*Bart.*, pl. 12).



8, 9, 10. Pyramid of Caius Cestus, Rome (*Bart.*, pl. 70).
11. Of glass. Bibliotica Barberina. Now known as the Portland Vase (*Bart.*, pl. 84; also, *Arch.*, viii. 307).
12. Porta Capeno, Rome (*Bart.*, pl. 101).
13. Vatican (*Bart.*, pl. 103).
14. Vatican (*Bart.*, pl. 104).
15. Vatican (*Bart.*, pl. 102).
16. Villa Corsina (*Bart.*, pl. 7).
17. Porta Salara, Rome (*Bart.*, pl. 100).
18. Vatican (*Bart.*, pl. 106).
19. Villa Corsina (*Bart.*, pl. 12).

20. Kalasa on the temple of Yamesvara, India (*Mitra's Indo Ar.*, i. 271).

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Description of Plate II.

BRITANNO-ROMAN TYPE.

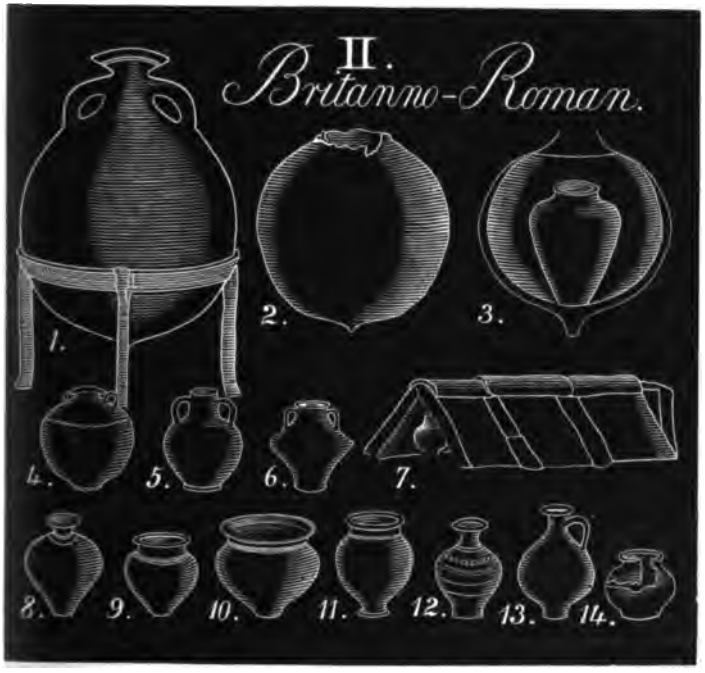
All the vessels figured were used as cinerary urns, and are photographed from a sheet on which they were drawn to actual size.

Fig. 1. Dolium, 30 by 28 inches, Barrow-upon-Soar, Leicestershire, contained burnt human bones, associated with iron lamps, &c. No coins (*Reliq.*, xiii. 20).

2. Dolium, holds 20 gallons, Southfleet, contained burnt bones and bits of thick bluish glass; covered with a very thick tile (*Archæol.*, xiv. 37).

3. Dolium, 5 feet in circumference, with the neck broken away for the insertion of an olla, which contained incinerated remains; Deveril Street, Southwark (*Arch.*, xxvi. 470).

4. Hoo Marshes, Hampshire (*Reliq.*, xiii. 180).



5. Size, 8 by 6 inches, Castle Hill, Hertford (*Rom. Ches.*, 257).

6. Size, 7 by 6 inches, covered by stone slab, Chester Walls (*Rom. Ches.* 214).

7. Roman Cemetery, York. Each tile was 20½ inches long, 14¼ inches broad, and 1⅜ thick (*Arch.*, ii. 177).

8. Blackheath (*Arch.*, xv. 392).

9. Size, 5½ by 5 inches, Kingsholme, near Gloucester (*Arch.*, x. 131).

10. Blackheath (*Arch.*, xv. 392).

11. Size, 7½ by 6⅜, base 2¼ inches, Abbot's Low, Derbyshire (*Arch.*, xxviii. 3).

12. Size, 7⅞ by 6½ inches, Roman Cemetery, York (*Arch.*, ii. 177).

13. Size, 8½ by 3¼ inches, Roman Cemetery, York (*Arch.*, ii. 177).

14. Size, 4⅜ by 4⅜ inches, Roman Cemetery, York (*Arch.*, ii. 177).

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Description of Plate III.

CELTIC: TWO-TIER-MUG TYPE.

The figures are photographed from a sheet on which they were drawn to actual size.

In Plates III., IV., V., and VI. the following signs are used: ↑ signifies that the urn was found in an upright position, ↓ in an inverted position. The contents of each urn are indicated thus: O = calcined bones, C = "ashes," E = "earth," F = flint flakes or implements, Br = bronze implements. Localities thus: La = Lancashire, Y = Yorkshire, Dy = Derbyshire, St = Staffordshire, Wi = Wilts, No = Norfolk, Ca = Cambridgeshire, Do = Dorset, Co = Cornwall, A = Anglesea.

Figs. 1 and 2. Section and outline. Bones and ashes. Great Barrow, Stowheath (*Arch.*, xv. 355).

3. Holds three pints. Burnt bones and ashes. Circular hill-fortress, Warton Crag (*Arch.*, ix. 211).

4. Height, 5½ inches. Bones, contained "an incense cup" (*Bateman's Ten Years' Diggings*, 84, 281).

5. Size, 22½ by 15 inches. Bones. Bronze spear-head. Barrow, near Stonehenge (*Wilts Mag.*, xvi. 169, 198).

6. Size, 7 by 4 inches. Bones. Baildon Common (*Wardell's Historical Notices*, 45).

7. "A few inches high, an incense cup." Bones, Denmark Barrows (*Worsaae*, 21).

8. No dimensions specified. Bones. New Market Heath, Camb. (*Arch.*, xviii. 436).

9. Size, 9 by 7 inches. Bones. Dorchester (*Arch.*, xxx. 330).

10. Size, 16 by 11 inches. Bones. Woodgates, Stonehenge (*Wilts Mag.*, xvi. 168).

11. No dimensions given. Cornwall (*Relig.*, xiv. 53).

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Description of Plate IV.

CELTIC: THREE-TIER-MUG TYPE.

The figures are photographed from a sheet on which they were drawn to actual size.

Fig 1. Size, 12 by 10½, base 4 inches. Calcined bones of adult and of child, and bones other than human. *No teeth.* Bronze pin. In cist of unhewn stone. Hell Clough, Lancashire (*Photograph*).

2. Cuerden Hall (*Photograph*).

3. Size, 12 by 10 inches. Calcined bones. Incense-cup, 1¾ by 4, base 2½ inches, in which were "human ashes." Over Darwen (*Hist. Blackburn*, 24).

4. Size, 10½ by (7 and 9), base 4 inches. *Bones and teeth.* Bone pin. Bronze pin-head. Revidge (*Photograph, and Lanc. Local Gleanings*, 83).

5. Size, 7½ by 7 inches. Bones. Unornamented "incense-cup," 1½ by 3 inches, in which were "burnt bones." Bronze dagger. Darwen (*Relig.*, vi. 138).

6. Height, 14 inches. Bones. Flint flakes. Chip of stone celt. Youlgrave (*Bateman*, 63, 280).

7. Size, 9 by 6½ inches. Bones. Boar's tusk. Flint spear-head and arrow-head. Ridgway Hall (*Arch.*, xxx. 338.)

8. Size, 11½ by 9 inches, Bones. Bone pin, 4 inches. Flint arrow-head. "Incense-cup" of thin pottery. Ballidon Moor (*Bateman*, 60).

9. Size, 10 by 7 inches. Bones. Flint arrow-head. Baildon Common (*Wardell*, 44).

10. Size, 12 by 9 inches. Bones. (*Arch.*, xxx. 338).

11. Size, 11 by 9, base 4 inches. Bones. Jet button. Flint arrow-head. Calais Wold (*Relig.*, vi. 184).

12. Size, 10 by 9 inches. Bones. Stone, Stafford (*Relig.*, vi. 64).

14. Size, 21 by (15¾ and 18), base 6 inches. Bones. Flint scraper and flakes in barrow. Tregaseal (*Relig.*, xiv. 53).

16. Size, 10 by 12 inches. Bones, including those of a child. Baildon Common (*Wardell*, 42).

17. Catlow, Burnley (*Photograph*).

18. Bones, in cist of coarse stone. Alaw, Anglesea (*Guest's Mabinogion*, 389).

19. Size, 9½ by 7½ inches. Bones. Bronze dagger. Bole Hill, Crookes (*Rotherham Supplement*, 1887).

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Description of Plate V.

CELTIC: FOUR-TIER-MUG TYPE.

The figures are photographed from a sheet on which they were drawn to actual size.

Fig. 1. Size, 15 by 12¾ inches. Calcined bones. Bronze implement. Isle of Man (*Manx Note Book*, ii. 68).

2. "A large urn," dimensions not specified. Burnt bones. Buxton Common, Norfolk (*Arch.*, xiii. 404).

3. "A small urn," dimensions not specified. Under a cairn, at the head of cremated body. Furness (*Arch. Jour.*, iii. 68).

4. Size, 5 by 4¾, base 3 inches. In a barrow. Flint chippings (*Greenwell's Brit. Barrows*, 148).

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Description of Plate VI.

CELTIC: PERFORATED OR CURD-CUP TYPE.

The figures are photographed from a sheet on which they were drawn to actual size.

Fig. 1. Diameter 13 inches; holds seven quarts; hand made; to be considered in association with perforated vessels, figs. 9, 10, and 11. Syenite celts. Bronze and flint implements. Swiss Lake-dwellings, Meilen (*Keller*, i. 32, ii. pl. iii., fig. 24).

2. Dimensions not specified. Calcined bones and perforated vessel. Matlock (*Bateman*, 244).

3. Height, 10, circumference 39 inches. Bones and the perforated vessel represented in fig. 8. Barrow, Staunton Moor (*Arch.*, viii. 59).

4. Cup with two perforations on one side only. Baslow Moor (*Bateman*, 283).

5. Cup with "four equidistant pairs of holes, each pair arranged vertically, one hole above and the other below" the line of bulge. Woodyates, Dorset (*Arch.*, xliii. 373). — N.B. A cup, 2 by 3½ inches, figured in *Greenwell's Brit. Barrows*, 175, has "twenty-seven perforations in sets of three, arranged vertically and at intervals over the whole vessel."

6. Cup with two perforations on one side only. Stonehenge (*Wilts Mag.*, xvi. 169). — N.B. In a similar cup, figured in *Arch.*, xliii. 364, *the two perforations are placed obliquely*, being separated by a horizontal line of nodular ornament.

7. Cup with numerous large decorative perforations. Stonehenge (*Arch.*, xliii. 366).

8. Cup found in urn, fig. 3. Besides four perforations along the line of bulge, it has a number of triangular openings in the upper tier.

12 Cup, 2½ by 3 inches, with fifteen "slashed" vertical perforations. Enclosed in an urn, 9 by 8, base 3 inches. Near Scarborough (*Arch.*, xxx. 458).

PERFORATED HAND-MADE VESSELS FROM SWISS LAKE-DWELLINGS; STONE + BRONZE AGE.

9. Size, 3¾ by 5⅝ inches. "A bowl with perforations at regular distances apart, and vertically one above the other." Montellier (*Keller*, i. 292, ii. pl. xcviii., fig. 7).

10. Size, 3½ by 15 inches. A dish with its "walls perforated in thirty places with double rows of five small holes." Montellier (*Keller*, i. 294, ii. pl. ci., fig. 1).

11. A vessel with perforations which, though they occur in lines of parallel ornamentation, *are placed obliquely* one over the other. Nidau Steinberg (*Keller*, i. 150, ii. pl. xxxviii., fig. 6).

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Description of Plate VII.

TEUTONIC CINERARY URNS: FLASK TYPE.

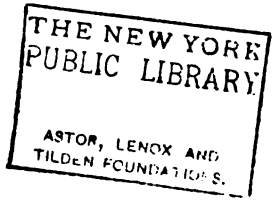
Figs. 1, 6, 8. Stade on the Elbe (*Arch.*, xxxvi. 282).
2, 3, 4. Norwich Museum.
5. Gold vase. Tomb at Kûólbé, near Kertch, iv. cent. B.C. (*Reliq.*, xiv. 194). For comparison.
7. Walsingham, Norfolk (*Browne's Urn-burial*, 8).
9. Nienburg on the Weser (*Arch.*, xxxvi. 281).
10. Eye, Suffolk (*Akerman's Pagan Saxondom*, 43).

CELTO-TEUTONIC TYPE

11, 12, 17. Nienburg on the Weser.
13. Stade on the Elbe.
14. Norwich Museum.
15. Crosslow, Derbyshire (*Bateman*, 284).
16. Arbor Low, Derbyshire (*Bateman*, 283).

LAKE-DWELLINGS; STONE + BRONZE AGE.

1. Nidau Steinberg (*Keller*, ii., pl. xxxviii., figs. 11, 14).
2, 3. Montellier (*Keller*, ii., pl. xcviii., figs. 2, 10).
4. Sesto Calende (Mainland) (*Keller*, i. 393, ii., pl. cxvii., fig. 15).
5. Schussenried (*Keller*, ii., pl. cxcviii., fig. 6).
6. Atter See, Upper Austria (*Keller*, ii., pl. cxc., fig. 1).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As regards their treatment of the dead, they were largely giving up the practice followed, in a frozen land, by their own more savage ancestors, of entire abandonment of the corpse; and, as they wandered into warmer regions, were adopting tentative methods of ridding the skeleton of its covering, in order to gather the bones into some kind of ossuaries. They sought the aid of vultures and even of jackals. The custom of cutting off the flesh of the dead and feeding dogs with it, which is mentioned by Herodotus, Strabo, and others, as obtaining among eastern Aryan tribes, is still a practice with the northern Mongolians. The existing funeral rites of the Pársís include an inspection of the corpse by these carnivorous creatures; and the widely-spread "myth of the dog Cerberus" is supposed by many to have had this remarkable custom for its origin.

The easier and better method of destroying the putrescible parts of the body by fire was, doubtless, gradually introduced, and was first employed, though perhaps incompletely, only when circumstances made it desirable. The advantages of cremation may have been discovered by chance, as in the burning of some habitation or stronghold, and may have been secured, in later times, when an interment was intramural, or when covering soil was insufficient.

In the excavations at Mycenæ, for instance, there were found, richly decked with golden ornaments, the partially incinerated remains of three human bodies. They were separated from the native rock only by a layer of small stones. This layer, says Dr. Schliemann, could have had no other object than to provide ventilation for the funeral pyres which were intended to consume the clothing and flesh of the deceased, *and no more*, since the bones and even the skulls had been quite uninjured.

We discern, then, in the dimness of a remote antiquity, an intention, after destroying the corruptible parts of the

dead, to protect and preserve the remainder. And this was sought to be effected in the only vessels then known—in vessels that had been invented long previously to hold something more precious than ashes; milk, namely, and honey, and grain. Here, therefore, is the reason why the cinerary urn never had, in the first instance, a specific funereal purpose or design, but was always, as regards its type, a mug, a flask, or a bottle.

I.

The Hellenico-Italic or Græco-Roman tribes were probably the first Aryans to reach from their common home the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. There, within the influence of Egyptian civilisation, they became familiar with bronze and iron, acquired a knowledge of the potter's wheel, and learnt the nature and manufacture of true wine.

All the vases of the early or Memphite period of Egyptian history are roughly made, pointed at the bottom, and *without handles*. The advent of the Greeks, then, was at a later time, when the invention of the long-necked, two-handled bottle had accompanied the discovery of an alcoholic beverage that could be kept. And so, in the wine-jar of the Egyptians, who never burnt their dead, the wandered Aryans preserved the incinerated remains of those who were dear to them, following the old custom in a new manner.

Homer relates that the bones of Achilles were placed in a golden amphora (χρύσεος ἀμφιφορεύς). This vessel, usually of earthenware, was long and narrow, with two vertical handles and a pointed base (plate i., fig. 1). It had, therefore, when not supported by a stand, to be let into the earth, and on this account it was seldom ornamented. It held sometimes six gallons and sometimes nine. Besides being used as a cinerary vase, it was, in some places, employed as a coffin, being made large enough to receive an entire body, and was then buried.

The slender amphora, sunk in the earth, was the keeping vessel for wines of good quality. A coarser and more spherical bottle, called a dolium, served for the process of fermentation (plate ii., fig. 2). This was also sunk in the earth, and its surface, for this reason, was likewise unadorned; but it often had two vertical handles, like the amphora, and it was frequently used for sepulchral inurnment (plate ii., fig. 1).

As a vessel for liquids, the Roman wine bottle has undergone little change of shape during the centuries that have passed. In the Asia Minor of to-day, water bottles may be seen that have the same tall neck and the double handle, and that have so small a base that when they are placed on the ground it is necessary to tie them to some support.

But it is instructive to follow the evolution of the amphora after it was made to fulfil the new function of a cinerary urn, and when it was exposed in a columbarium as an object of æsthetic interest. The annular stand becomes a structural part of the vessel, and a tiny ring appears for a base (plate i., fig. 7); the body bulges; a foot protrudes (figs. 8, 9); the neck shortens; the mouth widens; the stopper changes into a lid (figs. 12, 18); the two handles are replaced by one (fig. 10); or both of them diminish (figs. 9, 12) or vanish (fig. 13). The sides and surface, no longer sunk in the ground and hidden from view, are covered with the richest decoration (figs. 15, 17). The general type of the wine bottle undergoes even a sort of reversion into the form of the original jar that was the common receptacle for solids and fluids alike (fig. 19)—the ancient Aryan vase, that grew into the Celtic mug, into the Roman olla, and into the kalasa, a vessel that we find represented, in a more developed form, on the temples of India (fig. 20).

The Roman olla was a food vessel (plate i., figs. 4, 19). It was round and plain, and had a wide mouth, which was

covered by a lid. As a cinerary urn, it was used to preserve the ashes of slaves, or of the humbler members of a household; the amphora being reserved for superior persons. Very remarkable is this connection between the quality of the food and the dignity of the dead. In religious rites and in the worship of the gods, fermented beverages have been employed by many nations and in many countries. But when we find that among the Greeks and Romans the ceremony of cremation was incomplete without the use of wine; when the ashes of the funeral fire were quenched with libations of wine; when the calcined bones were washed with oil, or milk, and wine; and when the last remains were gathered into vessels made for the reception and preservation of wine; the practice was no doubt deeply significant, and corresponding customs must be looked for in other branches of the great Aryan family, since it is certain that strong drink was brewed long before the Dispersion.

II.

The early Celts of Britain and of Ireland seem to have profited little by the civilisation of southern Europe. Perhaps the epoch of their migration was anterior to the art even of Phœnicia or of Egypt. For their hand-wrought pottery was highly archaic, and shows only in one respect an advance on the most primitive type — in the flat base they gave to their earthern vessels.

There are two ways of making pottery still practised by savages. In Louisiana, we are told, "the women, after cleansing a mass of clay and mixing it with finely-powdered shells, knead it into a paste, and form it into rolls six or seven feet long and of a suitable thickness. In order to fashion a vase, they take, with the thumb of the left hand, one of these rolls by the end, and, making it a centre, coil the roll round and round with astonishing quickness, describing an

ascending spiral. Now and then dipping the fingers of the right hand into water, they smooth the inner and outer surface of their work. In this manner they make jars which hold from forty to fifty pints; and semi-globular bowls, with projecting rims, four feet in diameter and about half an inch in thickness. Sometimes the rims project inwardly, to admit of the vessel being suspended by flattened pieces of wood slid underneath these projections." Such is the first method; and its originators doubtless coiled their rolls of clay round the outside of a gourd, which was subsequently burnt away by fire.

On the other hand, the Arrowaks produce their pottery thus: "Having mixed clay with powdered charcoal, they first form a disc, or circular slab, for a base, which is always very small even for large vessels. Next they take a strip of the same kind of clay, and make it adhere round the margin of the disc, pressing it flat with the fingers. Then they take another strip of clay, and so they go on till the vessel has become of the requisite size and shape. When sufficiently dry, it is placed in a hole in the sand, surrounded with brushwood, and burnt. They often make water jars so large that a European potter could hardly manufacture them on his wheel." The originators of this the second method doubtless pressed their strips of clay, stage upon stage, into a fabric of wicker-work, which was afterwards consumed in the flames.

Of these two methods of pottery—one by coiling the clay round and round, a survival of gourd-made vessels; and the other by building up on a flat base a number of stories, a survival of basket-made vessels—the Celts of Great Britain and Ireland, whose ancestors perhaps had never seen a gourd, naturally used the latter. The fundamental structure was the disc, and the base formed by the first superstructure was the patina or saucer. Upon this, as larger vessels were

required, the potter reared story upon story, waiting perhaps till one had partially set before adding another.

We thus recognise what may be fitly called two-tiered (plate iii.), three-tiered (plate iv.), and even four-tiered urns (plate v.). The union of one tier with another is the surviving representative of the original transverse bar or weft of basket work. Often this joint is faulty or irregular (plate iv., figs. 1, 2). Often different tiers are differently adorned (figs. 4, 8). Often considerable skill is shown in covering the line of union with a line of ornament (figs. 4, 7).

As regards the larger or three-tiered urns, the character of their decoration is strongly suggestive of wicker-work, little dreamt of perhaps by the potter who made them, for we can see its crossing fibres and its interlacing ribs; and in the topmost story we can recognise the transverse ties and bands of a basket. In some cases, too, even the upright splints are found surviving in the structure of a vessel, as in the celebrated vase of two tiers found in a tumulus near Stonehenge (plate iii., fig. 5).

Two characteristics of the triply-built urn remain to be mentioned, and they are by no means the least remarkable. The first is that *the lowest tier is always absolutely plain;* and the second is that the two upper tiers are usually united, as is sometimes done with pastry, by a kind of undertuck, or overlap, so as not only to produce a pleasing effect, but to serve in some sort as a handle, which would, however, be a horizontal and a continuous one. Isolated handles are conspicuously absent from Celtic urns, except in Cornwall, where their vertical position suggests a foreign, perhaps a Phœnician influence (plate iii., fig. 11; plate iv., fig. 14).

When these Celtic mugs are attentively considered, the truth is forced upon the mind that, though they were used for preserving calcined human bones, they were not, in aboriginal type, cinerary urns any more than was the jar or

the wine bottle of the Romans. Like the amphora and the olla, they were, typically and primarily, *keeping vessels for food;* and if it is asked for what kind of food, we must reply that in the case of the early Celts the same vessels were used for both solids and liquids, and that no differentiation had as yet been evolved. But we are able to see some signs of a distinction. Among the excellent housewives of Lancashire and elsewhere, it is a habit to preserve fruits of a certain kind by filling a stone jar quite full of them, covering the mouth with a flat dish, and bestowing the vessel, in a cool place, *upside down.* If our Celtic precursors had been accustomed to store their grain in a similar way, we can understand how they should sometimes have chosen an inverted position for the urn that preserved the remains of their dead.

But assuredly there ought to have been some practice to tally with the fondness of the Græco-Romans for inurnment in wine vessels, since all the Indo-European races were brewers of alcoholic liquor, and the possessors of "a religious myth of Holy Drink." The metheglin of the Welsh, the mádhúka of the Indo-Aryans, and the mead of the Teuton were intoxicating fluids. Pytheas, who visited the east coast of Britain in the fourth century before Christ, says that the natives "made a drink by mixing wheat and honey"—a compound in which the germinating grain was doubtless used as a ferment. The ancient Cymric bard sings too often of "the yellow sweet ensnarer." Soma beer, made from the juices of many plants, was fermented with barley; and the soma tree was sacred to Indra, the supreme god. From the paps of the divine Heidruna flowed enough hydromel daily to satisfy all the celestial host; and kvithas and sagas abound with allusion to the joys of the bowl.

Which, then, were the vats in which all this potent stuff was brewed? What could be better, for example, than the

Celtic mug in which to ferment honey or the honeycomb? Does not the invariable plainness of the lower tier of this vessel suggest that, like the dolium of the Romans, it was sunk in the earth in the process of mead making? And would not British inurnment in a mead pot be precisely analagous to Roman inurnment in a wine bottle?

In the ancient Vedic ritual of cremation,* the calcined bones are first washed and enveloped in a piece of black antelope skin. Afterwards they are placed in an urn, *which is filled up with curds mixed with honey*, closed with pebbles and sand, deposited in a cist of brick, and covered with a tumulus.

There is a curious fact connected with Celtic interments, however, that has never been satisfactorily explained. The calcined remains of children are often found in very small vessels that have been called "incense cups," and said to have been used as unguentaries, acerræ, thuribles, and fire vessels. The name has been given to them apparently for no other reason than because, in many instances, they are perforated. Some of them are pierced with holes at the bottom, like a colander; others have openings all round; and others again are slashed with vertical slits (plate vi., figs. 7, 12). Frequently they have two holes on one side only, about an inch and a half apart, and evidently not for the purpose of suspension.† These perforations are commonly near the top, but often midway down one side, and some times near to the bottom of the vessel. Now and then a second pair of holes occurs opposite to the first pair, or three sets of holes are placed at intervals in the side (plate vi., figs. 4, 5, 6, 8). *In one instance twenty-seven perforations were found arranged vertically and at intervals over the whole cup; and in another, the vessel was encircled with four rows of small holes.*‡

* Mitra's *Anglo-Aryans*, ii. 143. † Long, *Wilts Mag.*, xvi. 170.
‡ Greenwell's *Brit. Barrows*, 78-9.

Perforated vessels are not known to occur in Cornwall, but "incense cups" in the form of miniature sepulchral urns, frequently met with in Cornish barrows, generally contain burnt bones, and are often found standing in close proximity to the larger urns.*

Two questions call for solution: What is the meaning of the incense cup? and, why does it contain the remains of a child?

Small, perforated utensils, made by hand, have been discovered in the Swiss lake-dwellings of the Bronze Age (plate vi., figs. 9, 10, 11). And it appears that vessels like them, only larger, are still manufactured in the Jura, and are used for separating the curds of milk from the whey, which runs off through the holes.† Now, Pulastya, an ancient Sanscrit sage, describes under the head of *madya*, or mead drinks, twelve different kinds of liquor, besides soma beer; of these, four are expressly ordered to be fermented by curds. I venture, then, to suggest that, as far as type is concerned, the small cinerary urn, often perforated, the so-called thurible, was the curd cup; and that this, filled usually with decomposing curds, but sometimes with sprouted grain, was suspended in the mead mûg till fermentation was sufficiently advanced, and was then withdrawn.

The mash tub of the modern brewer is provided with an aperture, so that, at a proper time, he can remove the liquor from the ferment. It may well have been an earlier method, as in the case of decomposing curds it was perhaps a simpler and a better one, to remove the ferment from the liquor.

The Complete Cook of 1659, p. 94, directs metheglin to be prepared by mixing an infusion, made of "all sorts of herbs that are good and wholesome," with a proportion of honey; and this is to be fermented by "barm put into the bottom of

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* Borlase, *Nan. Corn.* † Keller, *Lake-dwellings*, i. 150.

the tub a little and little." Through the mouth or apertures of the small Celtic vessel, suspended in the sweet fluid, such gradual admixture would take place of itself; and when its work was done the curd cup could be readily removed. Indeed, I am inclined to think that the curd cups of the lake-dweller indicate a similar purpose; for not only do they seem too small for use in making cheese, but they are found in association with large vats or mead mugs, some of which are three feet in diameter* (plate vi., fig. 1).

If this is the true pedigree of the "incense cup," we can understand that its original relation to the mead mug would have been as obvious and as natural as that of a child to its mother; and that on the cremation of mother and child, if two vessels were desired for inurnment, it would be these two that would be chosen. But whatever the degree of their association, whether the smaller one stands alone or is enclosed within the larger, or whether they are found side by side, it is noteworthy of both that they are always in *the upright position*, as if they had been so placed as a surviving, if unconscious, testimony of their original purpose and use. Moreover, when the curd cup had once been selected for infant inurnment, from a conjectured kinship between the mystic nature of a ferment and the sacred principle of life, the type became subject to all manner of artistic change. As the rude amphora blossomed into forms richly ornate, so the utilitarian curd cup, not on its surface only, but also with regard to any holes or apertures, underwent a highly decorative evolution.

It has been observed that although the calcined bones of a child have often been detected in the contents of a perforated vessel, yet sometimes nothing appears but ashes. It must be recollected, however, that the body of a very young

* Keller, i. 150.

child can be entirely carbonised by heat. Sir Thomas Browne mentioned this in 1658, when he wrote that the Romans "burnt not children before their teeth appeared, since their gristly bones would scarce leave separable relics after the pyral combustion." But the custom of the Romans is not, in this respect, of much importance, as the burning even of adults did not become general in Italy till a comparatively late period.

It has occurred to me, however, that this effect of fire upon the body of a child may have originated the actual practice of inurnment. For we cannot doubt that cremation was first employed, as at Mycenæ, in an incomplete manner; and it seems likely that when it was found that all traces of an infant's corpse totally disappeared, a desire would have arisen to enclose the indistinguishable ashes in an urn, as the sole means of saving them from dispersion, and of keeping in permanent association the remains of the mother and of her immolated offspring.

This view is somewhat confirmed by the discovery of a cemetery of the Bronze Age, that probably served for the inhabitants of the pile-dwellings of Lake Geneva. A number of skeletons were found about four feet below the surface of the soil, together with bronze ornaments such as bracelets, hairpins, and rings, but without any weapon whatever. At the same depth, and regularly alternating with the skeletons, were urns about five inches high and six and a half inches wide, of the Bronze Age type, and filled with a black, homogeneous mass, believed to be ashes.* No explanation has been given of these circumstances, but the suggestion is now made that, inasmuch as the skeletons were all those of women, the contents of the urns were the remains of immolated children. At any rate, if the custom of inurnment

* Keller, i. 313.

began in the way supposed, and was applied at first to infants only, it is easy to understand that it would gradually have become general, and have extended to the incinerated relics of women and men.

In type, then, the Celtic sepulchral urns, like those of the Greeks and Romans, were food vessels, and especially vessels for the preparation of alcoholic drinks. But the early British mead makers never discovered a liquor that would keep for more than nine days; indeed we may be sure that it seldom lasted as long. So that the wine bottle of the Mediterranean, as it was never required, was neither invented nor introduced.

Of the urns figured on plate iv., some were found associated with flint flakes or implements, some with gold and bronze, but *not one of them with iron.* Lastly, eight were unearthed in our own county of Lancaster.

III.

It is said that while the bulk of the Teutonic tribes remained in Europe, a portion of them, together with the Lithuanian and Sclavonic peoples, wandered as far south as Persia. However this may have been, it is certain that ancient Saxon pottery is rude in structure and in form, and that it is as remote in character from the earthenware of the Græco-Romans as it is from that of the early Celts.

The Teutonic cinerary urns of North Germany (plate vii., figs. 1, 6, 8, 9) resemble those found in the Isle of Wight and in the Saxon portions of England as far north as Derbyshire (plate vii., figs. 2, 3, 4, 7, 10). Their type is that of a flask without handles, of a bottle-shaped but wide-mouthed vessel. In the few instances where handles are present, they are vertical. The flasks are of the same general form as early Sclavonic vases (plate vii., fig. 5), and they are to be matched both in shape and ornament by the hand-made fictile ware of some of the Swiss lake-dwellings (plate vii.).

They often have a lid or stopper, or are covered by a bowl or saucer. They were not produced by the lathe—their base is irregular, as if made by the palm of the hand, and scarcely one will stand upright. *They are of the gourd type, and not of the basket type, and yet their adornment is often that derived from wicker-work.* This decorative transfer is by no means without example. Perhaps even the vertical handle of an amphora signifies a looped osier stick. But if such a transfer indicates a poverty of art, it suggests an anterior time when the ancestors of the Saxon, like those of the Celt, made basket-work the basis of their pottery.

The type, then, of the cinerary vessel of the Teutonic people is that of a flask for liquor that does not keep long enough to be sealed and secured in an amphora, and yet that is not so perishable that it must be dipped up and drunk forthwith out of an open vat. "To one man's house," says the *Guest's Wisdom*, "I came much too early, to another's much too late; either the ale was drunk out, or it was unbrewed."

So widely was this country colonised by pagan Teutonic settlers, that there have been discovered in as many as fifteen English counties sepulchral vases believed to be Saxon. Their contents were sufficiently distinctive. Besides calcined bones and ashes, there were found, much injured by heat, glass and beads, fragments of bronze fibulæ, and buckles and brooches that resemble those deposited with uncremated skeletons in Kent and Normandy. Lying above these remains, and untouched by fire, bone or ivory combs have been met with, and metallic scoops and pincers.

It is inevitable, however, that, amid the multitude of cinerary urns buried in Britain by successive races, not a few should possess mongrel characters—Britanno-Roman and Romano-British, as well as what I have called, in plate vii., Celto-Teutonic. But in the regard that purpose is revealed

by form, we behold in them all a ceramic survival. In the three types of mug and flask and bottle we recognise vessels that were antecedently used in the storage or preparation of alcoholic liquors.

The twin mystery of inebriety and fermentation stirred the souls of our mead-making ancestors, shaped their strange conceptions of life, and urged their bewildered pursuit of immortality. For what thing is there that men have not imagined concerning the dead; and, to prolong existence beyond the grave, what thing is there that men have not done or endeavoured?

PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, January 7th, 1887.

MEETING at Chetham's Library, the Rev. E. F. Letts presiding. On the motion of Mr. J. Holme Nicholson, seconded by Mr. Axon, it was resolved that the Council be authorised to support by memorial or otherwise the application of the Victoria University for a yearly grant from the national exchequer.

Mr. William E. A. Axon called attention to a volume of Henry Ainsworth's, the Puritan divine, and described the results of an investigation by Mr. Ernest Axon, which showed that Ainsworth's birthplace was Swanton Morley, Norfolk. The discovery was of some importance inasmuch as it disposed of the claim which had been made to the great divine as a "Lancashire worthy."*

Dr. H. Colley March, of Rochdale, read a paper on "Some further points of interest about East Lancashire Flints," which he illustrated with specimens. He also exhibited and described a bone implement, which he believed was the first specimen discovered in Lancashire.

* See *Palatine Note-Book*, January, 1885.

Mr. George Esdaile read the chief paper of the evening, entitled Aldborough, Caerleon, Dorchester, and parts of Rome, compared with Chester. The paper was illustrated with a series of plans; and in a map prepared by him, Mr. Esdaile pointed out the cities and encampments during the Roman occupation, and gave reason for his contention that the Roman legions were much more numerous than was commonly supposed. Mr. Esdaile's argument was that as there were certain conformations—in walls, gates, streets, or remains of hypocausts—in certain cities, towns, and villages of England and Wales acknowledged to have been occupied by the Romans, as these remains testify, there should be found in Rome itself similar evidences. He therefore proceeded to show by certain illustrations such was the case; and argued that, as all the permanent camps that were made in Britain between A.D. 43 and A.D. 193 were constructed on the plan invented or adopted by Hyginus, there ought to be some evidence of the use of a camp of the same construction even in Rome itself; and he showed that within the period mentioned there were three camps at Rome, viz., (1) the Castra Prætoria; (2) the Castra Peregrina; and (3) the Castra Equites Singulares Imperatoris. As to the Castra Prætoria, all knew the square projection in the walls of Rome, which plus the filled-up fosse on either side has the over-all width of the camp of Hyginus (one thousand six hundred and twenty feet). This camp was constructed in the time of Tiberius (about A.D. 23), and a great part of the original work of the north wall still remains; the two other sides have been rebuilt. The length of the *tertiata* (literally of three halves) camp is found stretching westwards, almost up to the agger of Servius Tullius. It was shown that a space was left between this agger and the wall of the camp, which was absorbed by the fosse of the camp, and by the wide and deep ditch of the work of Servius, and was known as the viæ cavæ or viæ cupæ (the dark roads) or the vicolo del Ranocchio delle Matonelle, most if not all of which were twenty-one feet deep—veritable Hollow-ways. Aurelian,

A.D. 271, built the city walls to the north and south of the Prætorian Camp, thus virtually including it within his city. In fifteen years Diocletian's Baths were erected, and in about another twenty years Constantine effaced the camp from the plan of Rome by taking down the west end and nearly two-thirds of the sides, leaving only that projecting portion of the wall remaining. Inscriptions have been found upon the site which confirm the historical account. Several who have written on Rome have deplored the loss of the sites of the Castra "Peregrina" and of the Castra "Equites Singulares." The "Peregrina" was upon Mons Cœlius, and if reference be made to the chart of Rome, by Piranesi, showing the "Regions," we shall, in "Regio I." on Cœliolo, find the area bounded by the old city walls on one side and at one end. With these given, it is an easy matter to strike out the other two, and the coincidence of the limits of the Region with the area of the camp is good evidence of the supposed area being the actual space occupied by the "Peregrina." Further, on the site of Church of Santa Maria in Domenica have been found inscriptions—one to a "princeps," and another to a "vice-princeps" "Perigrinorum." Again, directing attention to the plan of the "Regions," by Piranesi (i. pl. 38), it was shown that in "Regio VI. alta semita" is found an area, the ends and one side of which are given in the limits of that region; this area is also of the size of the "tertiata" camp of Hyginus, viz., two thousand three hundred and twenty feet by one thousand six hundred and twenty feet. Mr. Esdaile claimed to have been the first to direct attention to these points of similarity existing in the Eternal City, and demonstrated that they coincided with the camp areas of Aldborough, Caerleon, Dorchester, and Chester.

A discussion took place, in which Messrs. J. Holme Nicholson, Langton, Moorhouse, Oxley, Churchill, and the Chairman took part.

Mr. George C. Yates exhibited an Indian sacred calumet or medicine pipe, which he thus described: This specimen

was purchased some years ago at the sale of the old Manchester Museum, Peter Street, having been obtained from Mr. Alexander Henry over forty years ago. The pipe is over forty inches in length, and is in excellent condition. The bowl is made of a curious stone, of a soft, creamy-red colour, rather variable in tint, and taking a peculiar polish. This stone is said to be found in only one place in the world, namely, the Great Pipe-stone Quarry, situated in the Coteau des Prairies, not far from Lake Michigan, in the centre of the Sioux territory. The bowl is fitted with a stem worthy of its sacred character. It is made of the stalk of a young ash, and is decorated with tufts of hair dyed scarlet, taken from the tail of a white horse or of a white bison. At this sacred quarry the Great Spirit is said to have stood in the ancient times, and to have called together all the Indian nations. He broke from the rock a piece of stone, moulded it in his hands into a huge pipe-bowl, and smoked it to the four quarters of the compass. Then he told them that the ground was sacred, and that no weapon of war should be raised in it, for the red stone was their flesh, and belonged equally to them all. At the last whiff of the pipe the Great Spirit disappeared in the cloud, and the whole ground was melted and became polished as at the present time. In consequence of the legend the Indians have the greatest reverence for the place. They will not allow a white man to touch the stone, or even to approach it if they can keep him away, saying that the stone is their flesh, and that if a white man takes the red man's flesh, a hole will be made in their flesh and the blood will never stop running. The natives do not restrict themselves to tobacco, but smoke many narcotic vegetables—leaves, roots, or bark—which are generally mixed with tobacco and go by the general name of K'neck-K'neck. Mr. Yates also exhibited and described specimens of Indian Wampum.

Friday, January 21st, 1887.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The fourth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at Chetham's College, Professor W. Boyd Dawkins in the chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the Annual Report of the Council, and the Treasurer read his Financial Statement.

On the motion of Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, seconded by Mr. W. T. Andrew, it was resolved that the Report and Treasurer's Statement be passed and ordered to be printed.

On the motion of Mr. C. C. Smith, seconded by Mr. A. Taylor, Messrs. Letherbrow and Bannister were appointed Scrutineers.

The election for Council then took place, with the following result:—

President:

The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents:

The Right Hon. the Lord Egerton of Tatton, F.S.A.
Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., F.S.A.
William E. A. Axon, F.R.S.L.
Principal J. G. Greenwood, LL.D.

Treasurer:

W. A. Copinger, F.S.A.

Honorary Secretary:

George C. Yates, F.S.A.

Of the Council:

John E. Bailey, F.S.A.	Rev. E. F. Letts, M.A.
C. T. Tallent-Bateman.	Dr. H. Colley March.
J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.	A. Nicholson.
George Esdaile.	J. Holme Nicholson, M.A.
Gilbert J. French.	George Pearson.
Nathan Heywood.	Rev. J. H. Stanning, M.A.
Robert Langton.	Charles W. Sutton.

W. Thompson Watkin.

Mr. W. T. Watkin then took the chair, when a draft of revised rules was submitted by the Council, and, with a few amendments, was adopted.

A special vote of thanks was given to the Feoffees of Chetham's College

Friday, February 4th, 1887.

Meeting in the reading-room at Chetham's College, Mr. W. E. A. Axon presiding. A letter was read from Mr. Alderman Bailey, in which he said he should like to invite his fellow members to view the cave at Ordsal ("Woden's Cave"), but he had had some difficulty in getting at the mouth of it, as there were many tons of earth which could not be removed for some days. He had made a bargain with a contractor, who had come to a sudden stop, and said it would not pay him to do it at the price. Another bargain had been made, and Mr. Bailey hoped to be able to report shortly that the cave would be ready for a visit. The boys had filled up part of the hole, notwithstanding that he had had it under police protection. It took four officers last Sunday to watch it, and it seemed to him, if he did not get to the mouth soon, it would be more costly than an Eastern white elephant.

Mr. J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A., read a short paper on the subject (see p. 249).

The Chairman said that Mr. Earwaker's communication justified the doubt which he had expressed. So far as he remembered, Mr. Barritt was the first to associate the cave with the name of the god Woden. What they had to ask for was the evidence in favour of that theory.

Mr. Earwaker said that the question of the ford was quite distinct from that of the cave, and what was the origin of the latter it was now impossible to say, though it may at some period have been used by a hermit.

Lieut.-Colonel Fishwick read a paper on Lancashire Quaker Literature of the Seventeenth Century (see p. 106), and exhibited many interesting books on the subject. Messrs. Earwaker, Sutton, and Wiper also exhibited rare books and tracts relating to the paper. A discussion took place, in which Messrs. Norbury, Earwaker, S. Jackson, Sutton, J. H. Nicholson, the Rev. J. H. Stanning, and the Chairman took part.

The concluding paper was given by Dr. Renaud, F.S.A., on a Bundle of Compoti and Court Rolls of the Manor of Church Lawton, Cheshire (see p. 19). In the discussion after the reading of the paper, Messrs. Earwaker, J. H. Nicholson, Norbury, and the Chairman took part.

Friday, March 4th, 1887.

Meeting held at Chetham's Library. Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., presiding.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited a copy of the coronation number of the *Sun* newspaper, and old American and Jamaica newspapers.

Mr. N. Heywood exhibited a betrothing medal; and

Professor W. Boyd Dawkins showed some rude flint implements from Port Elizabeth, South Africa.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman read a short communication on Emery Oldfield (*vide* p. 85), and exhibited a collection of rare local deeds.

Mr. George Esdaile read a communication on the Great Stone or Plague Stone at Stretford. He described certain excavations for a main sewer, which showed that there were two paved roads beneath the present road opposite the Plague Stone, one at a depth of three feet six inches, and the other six feet six inches below the present surface of Chester Road. There was a ditch disclosed on either side of the lower road. All this tended to show that the Great Stone or Plague Stone could not be occupying its original position, if some theories were correct, such as that it was a relic of a heathen superstition; but as the Plague Stone was only twelve inches in the ground below the surface of the flags, it was but fair to assume the truth of the tradition that it in some way commemorated one of the plagues which had visited Manchester. Mr. Esdaile suggested that the Trafford of the day may have acted with the same munificence as the Mosley of the time, and have given say the orchard at the farm as a burial-place for such as died of the

plague on the west side of the town; and that probably the Plague Stone had contained a cross with a quadrantal base fitting into the two holes in the stone. The reader of the paper admitted that he had not seen such a cross standing erect on such a base, but with the examples of incised slabs in Middleton Church, Lancashire, St. John's, Chester, and in Aldborough, Yorks., all bearing cruciform incisions with quadrantal bases, there were certainly evidences of the existence of the idea of such a shape, and it required but little to imagine the easy disappearance in post-Reformation times of so fragile a structure of wood or stone standing in the tapering holes in the Plague Stone of Stretford.

Messrs. A. Nicholson, Bradsell, Bateman, T. Cann Hughes, Warburton, the Rev. E. F. Letts, and the Chairman took part in a discussion on this communication.

Mr. J. Holme Nicholson read a short paper on the Winwick Cross and its relation to the traditionary association of of St. Oswald with the locality of Winwick.

Mr. W. O. Roper, of Lancaster, read the principal paper of the evening, on an Inscription at Caton (see p. 254).

New members elected: Charles Roeder, T. Cann Hughes, B.A., Rev. Thomas Boston Johnstone, M.A.

A special meeting was held, after the ordinary business, for the consideration of the following notice: "We hereby request you to convene a special meeting of the Society to consider the following motion, which will be brought in relation to Rule 7, which inadvertently was passed without the necessary two-thirds of the members voting in favour of the alteration of the old rule." Rule 7 to read: "Each person on election shall pay an entrance fee of half-a-guinea in addition to his first year's subscription." After discussion the proposed alteration of rule was withdrawn.

Friday, March 25th, 1887.

Meeting held at Chetham's Library, Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., in the chair.

The Rev. E. F. Letts moved a resolution expressive of the regret of the Society at the death of the Rev. W. A. O'Conor. The resolution, having been supported by Mr. Langton, Mr. Axon, and the Chairman, was adopted.

Mr. H. Baker exhibited a silver medal, size of present florin coin, commemorative of the famous election of Henry Hunt as M.P. for the borough of Preston in 1830. This election contest lasted through a whole month, and the return of "Orator Hunt" had a marked influence on the political struggles of the time to secure the passing of the great Reform Bill through Parliament. On the obverse of the medal inside the rim is, "The time is come. Triumph of principle;" and within a wreath, "H. Hunt, Esq., M.P., Preston, Dec. 24, 1830." The reverse of the medal has inside the rim, "The grateful tribute of the people of England;" and within a wreath, "One of the 3,730 electors of Preston, 1830." The franchise in Preston at that time was almost as wide as "universal suffrage," for every man of full age, and who had resided in the town for six months, had a vote. That these medals were actually distributed to Hunt's voters, and afterwards worn by them as party badges, appears from the fact that most specimens are drilled with a hole.

Mr. W. Wareing Faulder exhibited an interesting cinerary urn, found at Red Bank, Manchester, in 1850. He described

it as being of the late British period, and of a date probably a little previous to the Roman invasion (see cut).

Mr. G. C. Yates described another cinerary urn, found by one of the members (Mr. R. Parkinson) on the Broughton Hall estate, in 1873.* Mr. Yates said that in laying out the grounds for the new roads on this estate, it was necessary to lower the crown of the higher ground about eight or ten feet, to make the level for the new road upon which the Congregational Church is built, and near the spot, on the ground which is marked upon the large six-inch ordnance map as a trig point—probably the mound was a British tumulus—about one hundred and fifty yards from the north-east end of the Broughton Old Hall Lake, the excavators had to cut and lower the ground through the deep deposit of drift sand. In doing so, they cut through disturbed earth and sand filling up what was evidently a V-shaped trench, running east and west. This was three feet wide just under the turf, and ran with a rapid slope to a point at seven feet from the top. The trench was very perceptible in section in the bank on the side of the road opposite the church, as it was differently coloured to the undisturbed drift sand in which it had been dug, perhaps twenty centuries ago. The urn was lying in the middle of the trench, and was filled with mixed materials—earth, sand, and bones—that had been calcined. Unfortunately, the workmen cleared it out, and most of these relics were lost, only two fragments of bone being recovered after the urn had passed into the possession of Mr. Richard Parkinson, who had the laying out of the new road. The urn is formed of coarse clay of a reddish colour, mixed with small grit and burnt flint, making a kind of pottery in a rude and roughly-worked way, evidently by hand. It has been hard-dried and baked, by means of hot ashes placed in the inside, as it is slightly charred, and hard thin-caked coating within, whilst outside it is softer and clean. The upper rim is imperfect,

* An account of this urn was given by Mr. Parkinson, at the Manchester Literary Club, February 20th, 1882. See *Report and Proc. of Lit. Club*, 1881-2, p. 48.

but sufficient remains to show the original form and ornamentation. It measures five inches in height, six inches at the widest part of the curve, five inches across the mouth, and three and a half inches across the bottom. The ornamentation is of the simplest kind, being diagonally-running impressions in six rows over the broad rim, the impressions being made with a pointed stick in the moist clay. The bottom is flat. The pottery is about half an inch thick all over. The urn is preserved in the Peel Park Museum.

Mr. J. B. Robinson exhibited coronation medals of Queen Victoria.

Mr. J. Noton showed a series of photographs of Roman antiquities, and gave a description of some of the principal ones.

The Rev. E. F. Letts read a paper by Mr. Henry Taylor on Lydiate Hall. The paper was illustrated with a series of plans and photographs.

Dr. H. Colley March read a paper on Types of Sepulchral Urns (see p. 272).

Messrs. Noton, Faulder, A. Nicholson, Sales, Yates, and Professor Dawkins took part in the discussion which followed.

The last paper was read by Mr. J. S. Thornton, B.A., on North's translation of Plutarch. Mr. Thornton traced the bibliographical history of the book, and showed the manner in which it had been utilised by Shakspere in the formation of his Roman plays.

Messrs. Sales, Axon, and the Chairman afterwards spoke on the subject.

Friday, April 1st, 1887.

Meeting held in the Chetham Library, Mr. George Esdaile presiding.

Mr. George C. Yates exhibited a series of Lancashire and Cheshire tokens, including Manchester, Rochdale, Bolton, Liverpool, Stockport, Chester, and Macclesfield.

Mr. Esdaile exhibited a rubbing of the Caton cross.

Mr. C. Collmann read a paper on Anthony Koberger, *c.* 1443-1513, the *Liber Chronicarum*, and the 1480 Bible. He gave a short account of Anthony Koberger, of Nuremberg, who, during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, became the greatest printer and publisher of his time. He had twenty-four presses, and employed one hundred printers, correctors, and revisers. His agents were all over the continent, so that he was able to bring out and dispose of editions of one thousand five hundred copies of five or six volumes each. Mr. Collmann described the two works by Koberger in the Chetham Library. One is the well-known *Liber Chronicarum*, the other one a magnificent Bible, folio, in four volumes, without date or name of printer, with W. Budi's name and de Thou's arms on the binding. This Bible has been ascribed to a Venetian printer. It was, however, published by Anthony Koberger, and printed for him by Adolphus Rusch, of Strasburg, the son-in-law and successor of Mentelin, in 1478-1480. The Chetham Library bought it in 1794 for £12. 12s.

A fine copy of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* belonging to the Free Reference Library was shown by Mr. Sutton. It was presented to the Manchester Corporation in 1885 by Mr. Harry Thornber.

Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on the Ancient Charters and Deeds at High Legh, Cheshire (see p. 259). The paper was illustrated with a large collection of the deeds and charters.

In the discussion after the paper, Messrs. Norbury, T. Cann Hughes, A. Nicholson, the chairman, and others took part.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman read a paper on the Ancient Lancashire and Cheshire Local Courts of Criminal and Special Jurisdiction. (see p. 231).

Saturday, April 30th, 1887.

KNUTSFORD AND PEOVER.

Upwards of fifty members visited Knutsford, under the leadership of Mr. G. C. Yates.

Conveyances were in waiting to convey the members of the Society from Knutsford to the "Old Whipping Stocks" public-house. In Peover Park the party were met by the Rev. Francis R. Bryans, who first conducted them to Peover Hall, the seat of Sir Philip Mainwaring, Bart. After a careful examination of Peover church, the members went, under the guidance of Mr. Bryans, to Lower Peover church, where they were received by the Rev. A. Guest, the vicar. Lower Peover Parochial Chapel is situated in the parish of Great Budworth, and was restored in 1852. This church, as appears from existing documents, was built in 1296 by the parishioners, the principal of whom was Richard Grosvenor, of Hulme Hall, Allostock. The fine old tower was built of stone in 1582. The body of the church, which consists of nave, north and south aisles, and chancel, was almost entirely built of wood, the outside walls being constructed of timber and plaster. The whole of the interior fittings, and the pillars and arches supporting the roof, were formed of massive oak. On the north side of the chancel is a small chapel, divided from the chancel and south aisle by an open oak screen, quaintly carved, bearing in the centre of the cornice the date 1624. This chapel is now subdivided, one part being used as a vestry, the other supplying the place of the gallery taken down from the tower, the choir and organ being placed there. On the south side is another chapel separated, like that on the north side, from the chancel and south aisle by an oak screen. The east end of this chapel is partitioned off by a massive oak screen and gates, and contains two large and handsome monuments of the Shakerley family. This chapel is described by Bishop Gastrell as being added to the church by Geoffrey Shakerley, Esq., whose right was confirmed to it in 1610. The chancel

is also separated from the nave by an open screen. The ancient pulpit, in its eight panels, contains some curious devices in inlaid woods. The mural monuments were inspected with special interest. The old oak muniment chest, ability to raise the lid of which is said to be a *sine quâ non* for a Cheshire farmer's wife, was the scene of much muscular emulation.

After tea at the Tabley Arms, Mr. George Esdaile submitted a paper, in the course of which he said the family of the Mainwarings has been settled at Over Peover for some thirty-three generations. It has been a race of gentry, knights, and baronets, who have during the period from the Conquest to the present time formed alliances with all the well-known Cheshire families. Of this family there have been several who have been sheriffs of the county, some mayors of Chester, sheriffs of Limerick, and one Secretary for Ireland. Mr. Esdaile gave details connected with the history of the Mainwarings and their several connections and branches.

Saturday, May 21st, 1887.

BRAMHALL HALL.

About fifty members visited Bramhall Hall, near Stockport, under the leadership of Mr. Thomas Letherbrow.

On arrival at the hall, the members were received by Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Nevill. The exterior of the building was carefully examined under the guidance of Mr. Nevill and Mr. Alfred Burton,* both of whom gave much interesting information. Originally the hall had four sides enclosing a quadrangle; at the same time no extant plans show this. The present appearance is rather that of the letter H, which it has borne since the last century. The right and left wings have not been much altered; the windows in them are very

* A paper on Bramhall and its owners, prepared for this meeting by Mr. Alfred Burton, has since been printed in the *Cheshire Notes and Queries*.

old, as indicated by the oak work, the carved bosses of the plinths, and the upper lancet work. The crest of the Bramhall family near the front entrance is in excellent preservation, and points the history of the house prior to the Davenports. For the most part the hall is built without foundations, the stone and timber resting on the soil. The principal dates of the hall are 1390, 1592, and 1595.

The members next visited the chapel, which occupies the south-east angle of the building. It is an ancient structure, with a flat roof supported by brackets. In it are the arms of Bramhalls, Davenports, and several others of the old Cheshire gentry. It is supposed to have been built about the time of King Richard III. In the chapel are several books secured by chains to the benches. The chapel is now in course of restoration. The entrance hall is thoroughly Tudor in its general aspect, and is very striking, being fitted up with antique furniture and hung round with arms and antlers. A noteworthy feature in Old Bramhall is the hatch door, which communicates between the great dining-hall and a passage and doorway where the poor used to assemble for relief. The door itself, which is a particularly heavy and massive one, was seldom opened, but the broken victuals from the higher table of the squire were handed through a smaller door let into a panel of the larger one, and so reached the expectant hands of the tenantry or way-faring men without. There are very few of these hatches now to be seen anywhere, but there is one in Chester Castle, and something of the same nature is still in use in Oxford. Mr. Nevill was of opinion that this small hatch was originally constructed for defensive purposes. The roof of the banqueting-hall is most curious. The oak carvings represent very closely some work in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster. The original dining-hall, with minstrel's room, has been cut through and interfered with by various alterations from time to time. The staircase leading to the drawing-room is of magnificent oak, and spiral in form; the doors also and the posts and rails of the staircase and its

approaches are worthy of notice. After examining the oak bedroom, the haunted room, and the kitchen, the members assembled in the dining-room, and after tea Professor Boyd Dawkins was called to the chair.

Mr. Thomas Letherbrow, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Nevill, said it was a matter for gratitude and pleasure that such an historic pile should have fallen into the hands of Mr. Nevill, whose means and taste are equal to the task of the restoration and reproduction. All antiquaries should rejoice in the prospect of the completion of such genuine preservation and restoration.

Mr. Nevill stated that he hoped to be able to complete the task he had set himself in about three years' time from now, when he should again be glad to receive the members and have their opinion as to the accuracy of his restoration.

Mr. George Esdaile (through Mr. Yates) submitted some notes on the house of Davenport of Bramhall.

The members afterwards proceeded by Fairy Wood to Siddall House, some portions of which are supposed to have been built in 1596. In connection with this house Mr. John Owen ("Old Mortality") exhibited an interesting MS. Book, being an account of "the disbursements of Richard Siddall as administrator to Mr. John Browne, deceosed, and as tutor to Elizabeth and Ann his daughters." This John Browne appears to have married the daughter of William Davenport of Bramhall by Jane his wife. Some of the items in the book are curious. One, the first, is dated—

May 5, 1699. Paid to the parson and clerke of Stockport, and given to the poor, and some expenses at Stockport at the funerall - - - - -	£19	6	6
Pd. to Mary Wild for bread and drink at the funerall -	4	12	0
Pd. Mrs. Davenport for Sugger had at the funerall -	1	4	5
Pd. Tho. Hulme for wrapping the Corps in lead - -	6	0	0
The testator desired his friends that when he dy'd to wrap him in lead.			
Pd. Mr. Sandeford for Wine had at the funerall - -	7	11	8

Wednesday to Monday, June 1st to 6th, 1887.

VISIT TO LEAMINGTON AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Local Committee:

The Right Hon. the Lord Leigh, LL.D., Stoneleigh Abbey.
W. Andrews, Coventry.
R. Aspa, Leamington.
Matthew Holbeche Bloxam, F.S.A., Rugby.
E. G. Bruton, F.S.A., Oxford.
W. G. Colbourne, J.P., Stratford.
Arthur Evans, M.A., F.S.A., Oxford.
Edgar Flower, J.P., Stratford.
W. G. Fretton, F.S.A., Coventry.
F. Glover, B.A., Leamington.
Sir Arthur Hodgson, K.C.M.G., Clopton, Mayor of Stratford-on-Avon.
J. Cove Jones, D.L., F.S.A., Loxley.
R. S. Mylne, M.A., B.C.L., Oriel College, Oxford.
James Parker, M.A., F.G.S., Oxford.
Dr. Thursfield, Leamington.
S. T. Wackrill, J.P., Mayor of Leamington.
David Waters, Coventry.
S. S. Stanley, *Local Hon. Sec.*

The Whitsuntide excursion was under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates. Leamington was made the head-quarters of the party, and here the members assembled at the Crown, on Whit-Wednesday, to the number of forty-five.

On Thursday morning they proceeded by an early train to Oxford, where they were met by Messrs. E. G. Bruton, F.S.A., James Parker, F.S.A., R. S. Mylne, M.A., and other members of the local committee. A specially engaged tramcar was waiting to convey the members to the Church of St. Mary the Virgin (the University Church), built 1300-1488. At the Ashmolean Museum, founded by Elias Ashmole in 1682, there was a reception by Mr. Arthur J. Evans, F.S.A., who gave an address, and described the principal objects of interest, amongst which is a Roman altar found at Chester. The members then passed through the Sheldonian Theatre to the Bodleian Library, built 1445-1602, originally founded in 1320. Here the party was received by Mr. E. B. Nicholson, the chief librarian, who conducted them round the building. At Christ Church, Canon Bright gave an interesting account of his college. At Merton College, the Hon. George C. Broderick, the warden, received the members and described the buildings and library. Lunch was prepared for the members in the hall of All Souls' College, and Sir William Anson and Professor Max Müller were in waiting to receive the members. Professor Burrows took charge of the party, and gave an address

after lunch. After visiting Magdalen (the college of Cardinal Wolsey), founded by William of Waynflete, in 1456, they proceeded to New College, where they were received by Professor Sewell. This college was founded by William of Wykeham, 1379, and built 1386, 1675, 1878. After examining the remains of the old city wall, *temp.* Henry III., the party passed Wadham College on the right hand, through Trinity gardens, to Keble College, built in 1868 in memory of Rev. John Keble. The University Museum, St. John's College, and Balliol were also visited.

On Whit-Friday the members proceeded in carriages to Stoneleigh Abbey, which stands in its own extensive and beautiful grounds. The Avon, which runs through the park and past the abbey, adds greatly to the charms of this noble house. The principal entrance to the abbey is between two picturesque Grecian lodges on the Warwick road. The present mansion, which consists of a long and imposing range of buildings in the Corinthian style, was erected in the early part of the last century, but has since that time undergone numerous alterations. Some remains of the old abbey still exist. The principal is the venerable gatehouse, with several ancient Norman doorways; and another curious remnant of monastic times is the crypt beneath the present edifice, a fine specimen of Norman ecclesiastical architecture. The abbey has some valuable paintings and art treasures, and these, as well as the museum, were carefully examined. Whilst assembled in the drawing-room, Mr. S. S. Stanley read a short paper on the abbey. According to Camden, an old fortress stood in the neighbourhood. He says that "just over against it stood in olde tyme a castle upon Avon called Stoneley Holme, which was destroyed when the flaming broiles of Danish warres under King Canutus caught hold of all England." In Saxon and Norman days, the manor was royal property; but it was alienated in 1154 by Henry II. That monarch founded there an abbey for Cistercian monks, who retained possession of their property till they were ousted by Henry VIII. Henry bestowed the

estates on the Duke of Suffolk; and on his family dying out in Elizabeth's time, they passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Leigh, one of London's lord mayors, and an ancestor of their present noble owner.

On leaving the abbey the members drove to Stoneleigh village, and visited the church, where they were received by the vicar, who gave an interesting account of this ancient edifice. The interior shows some fine remains of Norman architecture, especially in the chancel arch. It contains an imposing monument of a member of the Leicester family; also a curiously-carved old font, which, centuries ago, did duty in Maxstoke Priory.

After lunch at Kenilworth, the members visited the famous old castle, so well known by the readers of Sir Walter Scott's novels. Kenilworth Castle was built by Geoffrey de Clinton, chamberlain and treasurer to Henry I. During the Civil War it was besieged and taken by the Parliamentary army, and it shared the fate of many other strongholds which fell into their hands.

Guy's Cliff was next visited. The spot has been the theme upon which writers, both old and modern, have lavished their praises. Leland calls it "the abode of pleasure, a place mete for the muses." Camden speaks of it as "the very seat of pleasantness," and Dugdale is, as we may expect, more diffuse in his panegyric. He says, "A place this of so great delight, in respect of the river gliding below the rock, the dry and wholesome situation, and the fair grove of lofty elms overshadowing it, that, to one who desireth a retired life, either for his devotions or study, the like is hardly to be found." The early history of Guy's Cliff is obscure, but in recent times is more reliable. Henry V., we know, made a pilgrimage to the spot, and was so delighted with its beauty and solitude that he resolved to establish a chantry there for three priests. But he died before his project was realised, and the design was carried into effect by Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who appointed two priests to celebrate mass daily for himself and his countess during their lives,

and after their death for their souls and the souls of all the faithful deceased. Edward VI. granted the lands belonging to this chantry to Sir Edward Flammock. After the members had examined the fine collection of pictures and visited Guy's Well, and the ancient cave, they drove past Leicester's Hospital to Warwick Castle, first visiting the porter's lodge in which are deposited the relics of the famous Guy of Warwick. The Great Hall, the red drawing-room, the cedar drawing-room, and other state rooms, the armoury, the library, and the celebrated Warwick vase, were all inspected. Some of the members ascended Guy's Tower, one hundred and thirty feet in height, from the summit of which a magnificent view of the surrounding country is obtained. Its compeer, Cæsar's Tower, is one hundred and forty-seven feet in height. Underneath is a dungeon, on the walls of which are several inscriptions, the work of prisoners confined in this dreary place.

On Saturday, the members went to Stratford-on-Avon, and were met at the railway station by the Mayor, Sir Arthur Hodgson, the deputy-mayor, and other members of the local committee, and by Mr. Richard Savage. They first visited Shakspere's birthplace and museum. The Town Hall, which contains Gainsborough's celebrated portrait of Garrick, was next visited, and the ancient charters of the corporation and guild were laid out for inspection in the council chamber. New Place and Shakspere's Gardens; King Edward VI.'s Grammar School, where the poet was educated; the Memorial Theatre, including the library and picture gallery, and the church, with the tomb of Shakspere, were also visited.

Monday was spent at Coventry, which was reached about eleven. The local committee met the members at the station and accompanied them to Bablake Hospital, St. Mary's Hall, the Town Hall, the Whitefriars Monastery, St. Martin's Church, and Holy Trinity Church. The members arrived in Manchester at eight o'clock on Monday evening.

Wednesday, June 8th, 1887.

OLD MANCHESTER AND SALFORD AT THE ROYAL JUBILEE EXHIBITION.

The members of the Society visited the Exhibition at Old Trafford, in order to inspect the Old Manchester and Salford portion of it. They were met at the principal entrance in Chester Road by Alderman W. H. Bailey (chairman of the Old Manchester and Salford Committee), Mr. Alfred Darbyshire, Mr. Albert Nicholson, Mr. John Bolton, and Mr. A. A. Gillies. Headed by the Roman soldiers and the old English watchmen on duty in this part of the Exhibition, the party entered Old Manchester by the Roman gateway, and proceeded at once to Ancoats Hall, where they assembled in a room said to be an exact model of the apartment reputed to have been occupied by the Young Pretender during his visit to Manchester.

Alderman Bailey, who presided, said: This visit of the members of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society gives particular pleasure to the members of the Old Manchester and Salford Committee of the Exhibition. It goes without saying that the members of the Antiquarian Society have taken a deep interest in the creation of this representation of the shops and houses of those who bought and sold and worked in our busy town in the ancient days. This visit gives additional pleasure from the fact that it enables me to state that the members of the Society have been of considerable assistance in creating the opinion with the leaders of the exhibition movement that sufficient historical evidence existed to enable an architect to form, with some approach to fidelity, a representative group of buildings which would be creditable to the exhibition. That Messrs. Darbyshire and Smith have done justice to that belief we all know. The result of Mr. Alfred Darbyshire's genius and work we see, and we can congratulate ourselves that we obtained his enthusiastic service. When the buildings were approaching completion it was found that the upper rooms could not

be well devoted to the exhibition of handicrafts, and it was thought by the committee that these rooms should be occupied by an exhibition of the portraits of local worthies and old archæological and other views. I venture to think that although this may be considered a small collection, owing to the limits of our space, yet future local historians will find the museum catalogue of this section of the exhibition of particular value. On the walls will be found portraits of pious founders, benefactors, philanthropists, statesmen, politicians, poets, charlatans, mechanical inyentors, and other local celebrities. The politician will take an interest in objects like the portrait of the first member for Manchester, Major-General Worsley, in that of Orator Hunt, and above all in the portrait of that noble, and, as he was called, "Wilful Welshman," Robert Owen, who did so much, to use his own words, "to revolutionise peaceably the mind and practice of the human race." We may now turn to a different political character, and look at the portrait of Cobbett. Who has not read of his attempted invasion of this district, when he came from America with the bones of Tom Paine in a coffin, and of the alarm of Thomas Sharpe, Esq., boroughreeve of Manchester, and of the worthy boroughreeve of Salford, who went on horseback and met him near Chat Moss, as the chroniclers say, "both worthies on horseback, attended by a proper retinue of henchmen." These representatives of law and order cautioned Cobbett not to go near Manchester nor disturb the public peace, and Cobbett, with the bones and the coffin, went across Cheshire and thence to London. If we look at the portraits of the founders of the manufacturing districts of Lancashire, we have the importer of the first bale of cotton into Lancashire. We have Sarah Worrall, the founder of the great dyeworks in Salford; John Kay, the inventor of the fly-shuttle, the first and greatest of all inventions in connection with our textile manufactures; we have Richard Roberts, the inventor of the self-acting mule, the planing machine, the slide lathe, and other mechanical tools. We have the portrait of John Galloway, the father of the

iron trade of this district, who is yet alive and well. Evidences of the labours of Sir William Fairbairn in promoting inland navigation will be found in the drawings of the canal steamboat made by his firm seventy years ago. We have also the portrait of John Kennedy, famous as a mechanical inventor; and that of old Peter Clare, the public-spirited clock and roasting-jack maker—a friend of Dr. Dalton. We have Mr. George Bradshaw, the publisher of the first railway guide; and portraits of a number of other worthies, famous for their ingenuity and enterprise, whose work and genius have contributed to our local prosperity. Of pictures of old halls we have a particularly good collection, including Strangeways Hall, and Ordsall Hall. Garrett Hall, Ancoats, Trafford, Heaton, and many other halls will be found in the various rooms. We have famous doctors and clergymen, among whom I may mention the celebrated Joshua Brooks, chaplain to the Collegiate Church. We have also well-known caricatures of the effect of the railroad on the brute creation. The old Salford charter is of particular interest to the members of this Society; and there are many other interesting relics, all of which will be found described in the museum catalogue, which will be published in a few days.

Mr. Albert Nicholson (honorary curator) then gave a brief description of some of the pictures in the room.

Mr. Alfred Darbyshire followed with a short description of the adjoining buildings. He said the original intention of the committee was to give nothing but bygone Manchester. An exception, however, had been made in the case of Chetham College, a picturesque corner of which had been reproduced there. The old cross which stood in front of it was a copy of the beautiful Doric fluted shaft which stood at the top end of Greengate, and around which many interesting scenes had taken place. John Wesley had preached at the foot of it, and at the coronation of George IV. it was the centre of a gigantic revel. Mr. Darbyshire also explained that in designing Old Manchester and Salford an endeavour

had been made to show the various styles of architecture dating from the time of the Roman occupation down to the last George.

The company subsequently visited the tower, the bridge, and passed down Market-sted Lane, Mr. Darbyshire directing attention to the various objects of interest as they passed along. He also described the Roman gateway and Roman Manchester, and gave his authority for the inscriptions on the masonry at the entrance. On the motion of the Rev. E. F. Letts, seconded by Mr. J. H. Nicholson, a vote of thanks was accorded to the chairman and the committee for their courtesy and attention.

Saturday, July 30th, 1887.

A visit was made to Tabley Old Hall and chapel, under the leadership of the Honorary Secretary. The party, consisting of about forty members, proceeded by rail to Knutsford, where carriages were in waiting to convey them to Tabley. On an island within the upper side of the Tabley lake stands the old hall, once the residence of Sir Peter Leycester. It is a fine specimen of the old architecture, when almost a forest was despoiled to furnish the timbers and strengthenings of the building. The building, of which only the eastern side remains, appears to have been originally quadrangular. The other side, being a part of the interior of the former quadrangle, is composed of timber and plaster. The entrance is on the east side, to the left of which is a low wainscoted hall, one-fourth of which is occupied by a large oak staircase leading to a gallery, which runs round two sides of the apartment. On the west side of the hall is a chimney-piece richly decorated with fanciful ornaments, dated 1619; and opposite to it a large bay window, in which is emblazoned the Leycester pedigree, in stained glass.

The members assembled in the great hall, and Mr. W. E. A. Axon presided, when Mr. Yates read a short paper, in

which he recounted the history of the old hall. He said that the building was erected by John Leycester about 1380. The chimney-piece, with its curious ornaments, bears the date of 1619, and the family chapel on the same island with the hall, that of 1675. This domestic chapel was originally built about the year 1387, and rebuilt by Sir Peter Leycester, who laid the first stone on 29th June, 1675; it was completed in 1678, the year in which he died. The modern hall, Tabley House, was erected during the last century by a second Sir Peter Leycester, who was born in 1732. It was completed about 1769 from the designs of Carr, of York.

The Chairman, in expressing the thanks of the Society for the opportunity of visiting Tabley, said that the hall beyond its interest as an example of old-timbered architecture had historic associations with Sir Peter Leycester, the first of a distinguished series of Cheshire historians and antiquaries. The family association with literature and art had been continued to the present day. As specially worthy of attention he would call their attention to the Roman figure of Hercules clothed in lion's skin and armed with club, at the entrance. This ancient piece of sculpture came from Ribchester. The fine carved chimney-piece had grotesque carvings of Cleopatra and Lucretia, each at the point of death. There was a portrait of William Walker, who was said to have been born near Ribchester in 1613, and to have died in 1736 at the incredible age of one hundred and twenty-three years. There were also an ancient stone quern in perfect condition, a stone with Ogham inscription; the curious Jacobite prospective glass, and other relics, some fine old oak furniture, with Queen Anne's bed, and a collection of arms and armour. These latter were described by Mr. W. Wareing Faulder.

Monday, August 8th, 1887.

CLAYTON HALL.

About forty members, under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates (honorary secretary), visited Clayton Hall, the

residence of the Rev. W. H. Burns, M.A. After an examination of the exterior of the edifice the members entered the building, the contents of which were explained by Mr. Burns. The members then assembled on the lawn in front of the house, where a meeting was held under the presidency of the Rev. E. F. Letts.

Mr. George Esdaile read a paper on the Chetham plate preserved in the Chetham College. He said: As we are met in Clayton Hall, one of the homes of the founder, Humphrey Chetham, it occurred to me that perhaps an account of the plate that we have so often seen at the college would not be an inappropriate subject for a short paper, seeing that some of it must at some time have been in use in this building. There are in all one hundred and eighteen pieces, three without any hall marks—if we except the anchor mark, which is unidentified—and one hundred and fifteen pieces with the usual marks. The plate consists of two tankards, two wine coolers, two goblets, two drinking-cups, one sugar-basin, three pepper-boxes, six salts, nineteen table-spoons, twenty-four dessert-spoons, five teaspoons, four saltspoons, and forty-eight forks. The subject naturally divides itself into two parts, firstly, that plate which belonged to the founder, and secondly, that which has since been added to the collection. As to the first, I think we may safely conclude that only the three pieces which are unmarked belonged to the founder, as all the one hundred and fifteen others bear hall marks after his time. I was hoping to have been able to show that these three unmarked pieces were once the property of Dr. Dee, warden of Manchester College, but I am afraid that such cannot be proved, with the scant information we have; but to give you all the known evidence upon the subject I must carry you back to a transaction which took place December 20th, 1600, and on turning to page 64 of Dr. Dee's Diary, published by the Camden Society, we read under that date, "borrowed of Mr. Edmund Chetam the scholemaster £10 for one yere uppon plate, two bowls, two cupps with handles, all silver, waying all 32ozs.

Item two potts with cover and handells, double gilt within and without, waying 160z.;" in all 480z. at 5s. 2d. (price 43 Eliz.) = £12. 8s. This Mr. Edmund Chetham, who was son of Henry Chetham, of Crumpsall, gent., was high master of the Free Grammar School of Manchester. He was master of arts. His will is dated December 28th, 1602, and he was buried in the Collegiate Church, January, 1602-3. On turning to the will of Henry Chetham, his father, who died May 1st, 1603, will proved May 4th, 1603, we read, "Whereas, Mr. John Dee, warden of the Colledge of Christ in Manchester heretofore borrowed of my sonne Edmunde Cheetam deceased (whose executor I am) the some of tenn pounds, & for security and repayment thereof & of lawfull consideracone for the forbearance of the same, the saide Mr. Dee delyvered to my saide sonne sixe severall p'cells of plate to be keept as a payne or pledge for the same, wch by reason of my saide executorshippe are now come to my possession; nowe touching the same my will ys & I give to my saide sonnes Humfrey and Raphe the saide some of tenne pounds wth all the saide consideracone due & to be due from the forbearance thereof, & with all advantages & profits thereupon growinge or arisinge when & as the same shall or may be lawfullie gotten or obteyned." This will was dated March 6th, 1602-3. In Hollinworth's *History of Manchester*, at page 96, we read: "Anno 1595. John Dee, doctor of physick, having a grant from the Queene of the Chancelorship of St. Paul's, London, & that not falling voide, hee was offered & did accept of the wardenship of Manchester College, and had it by patent under the greate seale and was installed Feb. 20, 1596." In four years he pawned his plate, in 1600. In 1604, four years after, he left Manchester and remained at Mortlake, Surrey, where in four years he died in 1608. We have seen that the will of Edmund Chetham, the son and lender, was dated December 28th, 1602; that the will of his father and executor was proved May 4th, 1603, and that Humphrey and Raphe, the sons, would then become entitled to the £10 and the security. Raphe's will is dated May 11th, 1629,

and proved at Chester, 1630. Humphrey, the brother and founder, was buried October 12th, 1653. From these dates and information we have a complete chain of evidence, perfect in every link, showing us that the destination of the six parcels of plate, which were the property of Dr. Dee, went into the hands of the founder and his brother Raphe. But the question arises, how was the bequest of the debt and the security disposed of, which portion of it was taken by Humphrey and which fell to Raphe, or did Humphrey acquire his brother's share or did he sell his half to his brother, assuming the division to have been equal, or did the brothers, Humphrey, the clothier, and Raphe, the linen-draper, turn all over to the gentleman of the family, James, of Crumpsall, who, according to volume liv. Chetham Society, page 164, was ancestor of the Chethams of Clayton and Smedley, and consequently of this old hall? Mr. Esdaile showed a series of sketches of the various articles, and indicated or pointed out the several dates. He came to the conclusion that the six pieces of plate left in pledge with Edmund Chetham by Dr. Dee were not among the number, as the three "unmarked" pieces weigh 60 ozs. 2 dwts., and not the half of 48 ozs. Where, then, were those originally pledged? He hoped this paper would be the means of calling attention to their destination, and perhaps lead to their discovery amongst the descendants of Raphe Chetham, whose children were George, Raphe, Humphrey, Marie, Margaret, and Elizabeth; or amongst those of James, the eldest brother of the founder; in the families of Clowes; or of Hoare, the present holders of the Clayton township.

The Rev. W. H. Burns read a short account of Clayton Hall. Premising that his historical statements were given mainly on the authority of the late Mr. John Higson (*History of Droylsden*, p. 33 *et seq.*) and Mr. John Harland, he said that in those old times, ere the barons had wrested Magna Charta from King John, a family named Clayton was located at the hall, until, by intermarriage with their heiress, the wealthy Byrons, ancestors of the poet-lord, became resident

from A.D. 1200 to 1540, when they deserted it for Newstead Abbey, and for nearly a century afterwards Clayton Hall remained in the hands of their tenants. The above Claytons, in the twelfth century, owned the greater portion of the lands in the township of Droylsden. With the exception of the marriage of Cecilia, daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Clayton, of Clayton Hall, with Robert, son of Sir Roger de Byron, in the year 1199, the only previous mention of this Clayton family occurs in the list of jurors and landowners in the survey list of Henry III., in which the name of Robert de Clayton appears. There is a tradition that one of the Claytons went with his men from Clayton Hall to the Crusades. The Byron family is conspicuous in the annals of the county; their names are found as the first witnesses to the charter granted to the burgesses of Manchester. At the time of the grant of the Priory of Newstead, which bears date May 28th, 1540, Sir John Byron was steward of the manors of Manchester and Rochdale. This family possessed a sort of MS. chartulary, called "The Blacke Boke of Clayton," into which from time to time were copied all the deeds and documents pertaining to their various estates. This register now lies amongst the Townley Collection in the British Museum. On February 20th, 1620, George Chetham, of London, and Humphrey Chetham, of Manchester, purchased the manor of Clayton and Clayton Hall from the Byrons for the sum of £4,700. The estate contained as many acres as there are days in the year. Humphrey Chetham is stated to have lived much at the hall, and to have died there September 20th, 1653. The estate descended to Mrs. Alice Bland, *née* Chetham, whose only child married Mordecai Greene, a Spanish merchant, one of whose five grand-daughters, Arabella Penelope Eliza, by marriage with Peter Richard Hoare, brought the Clayton estate into the possession of the present owners. This short sketch will be seen to trace the possession of the manor and Manor House of Clayton from the first year of King John to the present time, a period of very nearly seven hundred years.

The hall, which is situated nearly three miles east of Manchester is surrounded by a broad and deep moat, which is still perfect, once crossed by a drawbridge, since replaced by a permanent stone structure of two arches. The original hall was in all probability castellated and loopholed, with tower and courtyard. The present pile consists of two buildings in line, of different periods, the oldest being of timber and plaster.* Its southern end is surmounted with a wooden turret containing a bell, which tradition represents as being one of four brought from the old parish church of Manchester on its rebuilding in the fifteenth century. Around the outer edge of the mouth, in old English characters, divided by a rose and crown, is the motto, "Ie atende meleor"—I await the better. Tradition represents that Humphrey Chetham removed a portion of the structure, with the intention of rebuilding it on a more extensive scale; and afterwards, abandoning the design, he merely erected the other insignificant portion, which is apparently a work of the seventeenth century. An old domestic chapel stood within the moat a few paces north-west of the hall until its demolition in the early part of the last century. The mate-

* Mr. John Owen writes as follows to the editor: "Many years ago the late Mr. John Higson and I had a rummage through the hall when a portion of the roof was under repair. I penetrated into the cockloft and made a sketch of some of the roof timbers, sufficient to show the style of timbering. They belong to the fourteenth century. We found that an addition to the front had been made at some time, which in the upper story forms a gallery giving access to the bedrooms. This was confirmed by the ends of the rafters projecting considerably beyond the wall plates, and showing they had been exposed to the weather; but they are now under the additional roof and of course not exposed. The ends of the rafters where they projected were scolloped on the under side, usual at an early period. The roof of gray slates, previous to the repairs, showed that the front had been extended, but now the roof is one continued slope. The oat barn we also visited and took the dimensions of. I think it was one hundred feet in length and of eight bays, divided by the finest crooks I have seen anywhere. I have a sketch of some of them. I don't hesitate to say they are as early as the thirteenth century. They appeared to have undergone many mutilations with repairs and what not, but still showed what they had been, and the great quantity of timber that must have been cut down to erect such a structure."

rials, including "large redrock-stones, similar to those in the Old Church steeple," were converted into piggeries. These have now been removed, and many of the stones are preserved as rockwork in the garden. The font is stated to have been transferred to the Collegiate Church. The fold was four acres in extent, and contained three distinct piles of outhousing. The "wheat barn" has been converted into a farmhouse. The "oat barn" was sold two or three years ago and carted away. The "great barn" was destroyed by fire September 23rd, 1852.* A view of this barn is given in Philips's *Illustrations of Lancashire and Cheshire*, as also a view of the hall.† Within the hall are still preserved an oak cabinet, a curious table-chair forming either table or chair, an oak settle, and several beautiful oak chairs formerly belonging to Humphrey Chetham. This history would not be complete without a veritable ghost story. There is the "blood-stain" of the victim on the floor of one of the bedrooms, and the ghost is stated to have been so insufferable that during the close of the last century the aid of a clergyman from the parish church was obtained, who succeeded in laying the spirit for ever, declaring that—

> Whilst ivy climbs and holly is green,
> Clayton Hall boggart shall no more be seen.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Burns for his hospitality, proposed by Mr. H. H. Sales, seconded by Captain J. G. French, and supported by Mr. Leo Grindon, brought the proceedings to a close.

Some of the members proceeded to Bradford House to

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* There is a tradition, which is as old as Hollinworth's time (*Chronicles of Manchester*, p. 44), that the timbers of this barn were formerly used in the ancient parish church of Manchester, which has often been said to have been a wooden structure. This notion is entirely disputed by Mr. John Owen, who says "there is not a shadow of evidence for the belief. The parish church has been a stone one from the Norman period, and fragments of the different styles of architecture from that period down to late Perpendicular have been found in abundance, the walls and foundations being full of them."

† See also *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club*, iv. 213.

inspect several paintings by the late Mr. John H. Letherbrow, also the chair of Judge Bradshaw. This interesting relic is in excellent preservation, and bears the initials J. B. and the date 1633, with coat of arms. It was purchased at the Marple Hall sale many years ago.

Saturday, August 27th, 1887.

LYME HALL.

About sixty members visited Lyme Hall, the seat of Mr. W. J. Legh, under the leadership of Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A. They proceeded by train to Disley, where the chief attraction is the fine church dedicated to St. Mary. This church was described to the members by the rector. At about half a mile from the church is the celebrated landmark known as Lyme Cage, eight hundred and eighty-two feet above the sea level; and shortly after is reached the entrance to Lyme Hall. The plan is quadrangular, enclosing an extensive court, and the architecture, like that of many old mansions, is of different periods, a portion dating from the time of the last of the Tudor sovereigns, whilst another part, the south front, with its noble Corinthian columned portico, is a fine specimen of Palladian architecture, erected by Leoni a century and a half ago, though the effect is greatly marred by a modern square lantern with stone balustrades, that was added by Wyatt in 1822. The north front is approached through a square court enclosed by iron palisades, and entered by an arched gateway. The main entrance is in the centre of this front, and constitutes the oldest and most characteristic part of the building, having been left comparatively untouched by Leoni.

On arriving at the courtyard the members were received by Mr. Legh and the Misses Legh, and they were accompanied by one of the celebrated Lyme Hall mastiffs. After

a glance at the exterior, the members first visited the kitchen, then the church, in which is an ancient font, and on to the great hall, in which are many interesting specimens of armour, paintings, and works of art, which were described by Mr. Legh. Here a meeting was held, Mr. W. E. A. Axon presiding, when Mr. J. P. Earwaker gave an address, in which the main incidents in the early family history of the Leghs were pointed out.

Mr. H. H. Sales moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Legh for the facilities he had given for the visit. Mr. Thomas Letherbrow seconded the proposal, which was carried with acclamation.

Mr. Legh, in reply, said that many visitors came to Lyme, but there was especial pleasure in showing what there was of historic interest to those who, like the members of the Antiquarian Society, could so well appreciate their importance.

Afterwards the members proceeded to the drawing-room, which contains some fine stained glass and sculpture; then to the library and bedrooms, in one of which is a bed in which Edward the Black Prince slept when on a visit here. The dining-room and picture galleries were visited, and then the members adjourned to the gardens and to the end of the terrace to examine the two ancient crosses found in the neighbourhood. Miss Legh exhibited a drawing of one of them, and read a short account of the crosses written by the Rev. G. F. Browne, of Cambridge.

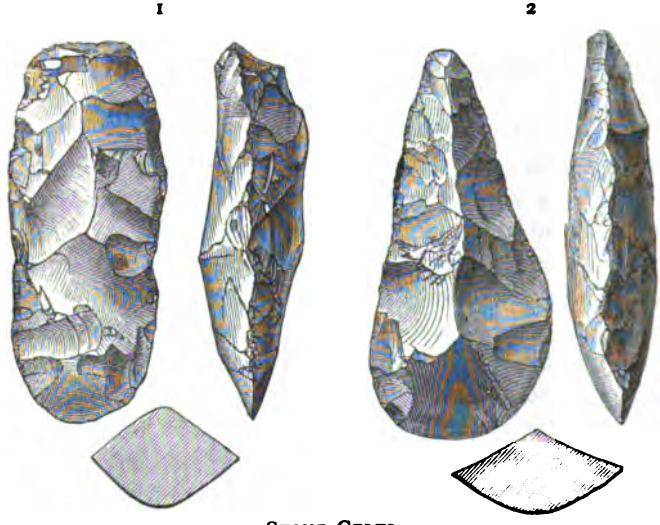
After leaving the hall, the members walked back to Disley, through the park, in which are extensive herds of deer. Up to two years ago, the park contained the remnants of a herd of wild white cattle, but now all are gone.

Friday, September 9th, 1887.

STONE IMPLEMENTS.

A meeting was held in the new museum at Owens College, when Mr. George C. Yates read a paper on the collection of local stone implements formed by him for the British Association meeting, which he described as one of the most perfect collections ever made. Amongst them were stone axes, perforated stone hammers, mauls, cores, arrow-heads, flakes, scrapers, and borers.

Mr. Yates first gave a short account of stone axes, hatchets, or celts, and said that they were found in almost



STONE CELTS.

every quarter of the globe, and in many parts they were supposed to be thunderbolts. In Cornwall they have medical virtues assigned to them, the water in which a celt has been boiled is considered a specific for rheumatism. In the north of England and in Scotland they are supposed to have preservative virtues, especially against cattle disease. Mr. Yates

exhibited a stone celt, which he had got from a well in Brittany, where it had been placed to purify the water, and to secure a plentiful supply. In Germany they are regarded as thunderbolts, and on account of their valuable properties are preserved in families for hundreds of years. They preserve the owners from lightning, they perspire when a storm is coming on, they are good for diseases of man and beast, they increase the milk of cows, they assist the birth of

3

STONE CELT.

children, and powder scraped from them may be taken with advantage for various infantile disorders. In Burmah, Assam, Japan, and a great part of Asia they are known as thunderbolts.

In speaking of perforated axes, Mr. Yates said they were evidently used for the same purposes as the ordinary axes and hammers of the present day. They have in many countries shared with the more simply formed celts

the attribution of a heavenly origin as thunderbolts, together with the superstitious reverence due to their supernatural

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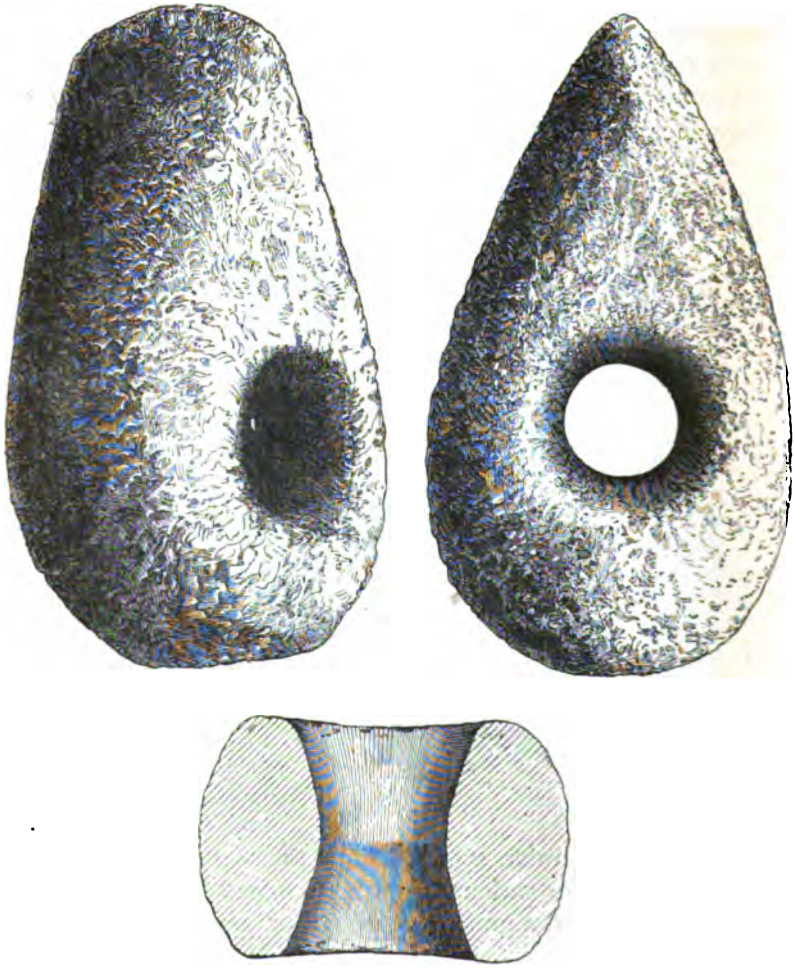


PERFORATED STONE HAMMER.

descent. They were popularly known in Scotland till the close of last century as "Purgatory Hammers," and were

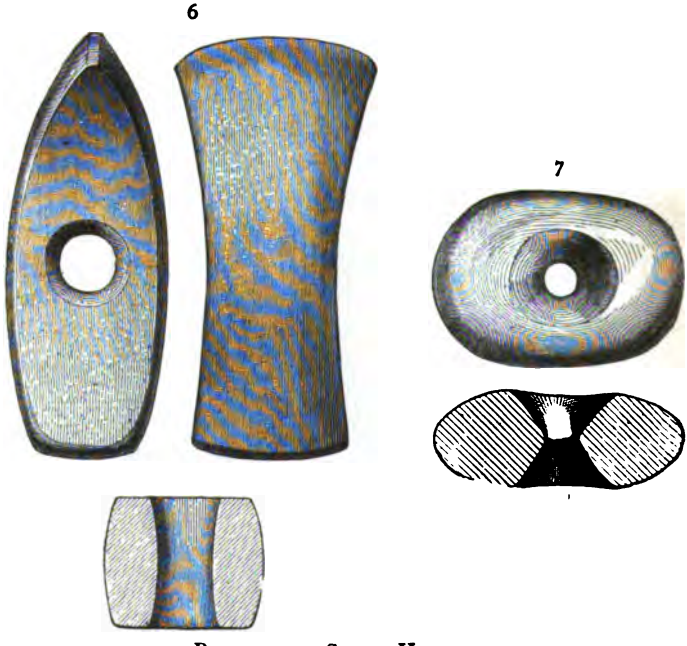
buried with their owners that they might have the wherewithal to thunder at the gates of purgatory till the heavenly janitor appeared. They are known in northern Germany and Scandinavia as Thor's Hammers. Some authors have

5

PERFORATED STONE HAMMER.

maintained that they were used for warlike purposes, so late as eight or ten centuries of our era. There are many forms of these axes; some with double edges or those with a cutting or but slightly blunted edge at either end. Adzes

or implements with the edge at right angles to the shafthole. Axes with the edge at one end only, the hole being at the other end, which is rounded. These shade off into axe-hammers, sharp at one end, and more or less hammer-like at the other; the shafthole being usually near the centre. They were probably intended to serve more than one purpose, and that, while those of adze-like form were probably tools either for agriculture or for carpentry, and the large, heavy

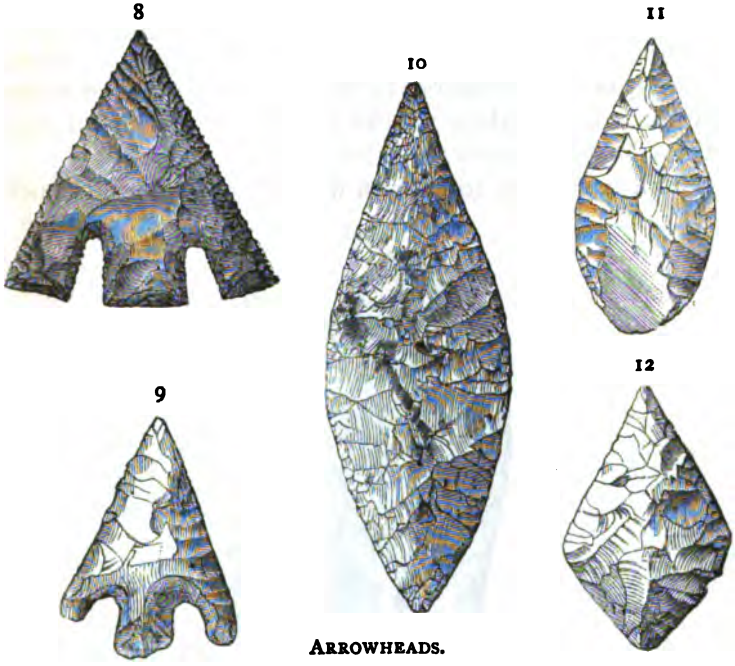


PERFORATED STONE HAMMERS.

axe-hammers also served some analogous purpose, the smaller class of implements may be considered as weapons. Mr. Yates showed several specimens of modern stone implements from New Zealand, New Guinea, Australia, and Fiji Islands, in his own collection, showing the various modes of hafting. He stated that very few of the ancient implements had been found in England with their hafts, but one of the most interesting was discovered by Mr. R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A., in

Ehenside Tarn, in 1871, full particulars of which were given in vol. xliv. of *Archæologia*. Several stone mauls, obtained by the lecturer from the old copper mines at Alderley Edge, were exhibited; these had evidently been used for crushing and pounding the copper ore.

In speaking of arrow-heads, Mr. Yates said that in Scotland and Ireland they are popularly regarded as missiles of elves. They are frequently set in silver and



ARROWHEADS.

worn as armlets. In the north of Ireland, when cattle are sick, the fairy doctor is sent for, and he often says that the beast has been elf-shot or stricken by fairy darts, and by some legerdemain contrives to find in its skin one or more poisonous weapons, which, with some coins, are then placed in the water which is given the animal to drink, and a cure is said to be effected. The mode of fastening the

arrow and spear heads by modern savages was shown in specimens in the lecturer's collection from Arctic regions, Australia, Admiralty Islands, and other places.

Scrapers were the next implements described, so-called because of their similarity in character to stone implements used amongst the Esquimaux for scraping skins and other purposes. Besides being used for scraping hides and preparing leather, it is supposed that they may have been used for making pins and other small articles of bone. Their outline is in some cases horse-shoe shaped or kite shaped, in others it is discoidal or nearly circular, and in others again it may be compared to that of a duck's bill or of an oyster shell. To these may be added side scrapers, or such as are broader than they are long.

Flint flakes and cores from which they have been struck

13

FLINT DAGGER OR SPEARHEAD.

were next described, the flakes being used as knives, scrapers, spear and arrow heads, saws, and barbs for javelins, whilst the Mexicans used obsidian flakes for shaving. The minute flakes were probably used for drills or boring tools. They have been found among the refuse left by the cave dwellers of the Reindeer period of the south of France. The flint barbs of the harpoon heads found in Scania are made from extremely small flakes. The Australians secure minute splinters of flint to wooden handles to form the teeth of rude saws and barbs of javelins.

The following is a list of the principal stone implements exhibited, all having been found in Lancashire and Cheshire and the district, with the names of the owners, or the museums in which they are deposited :—

THOMAS BAILEY, Gatley.

Perforated stone hammer, found at Northenden in 1881, 4¼ inches by 1⅛ inches.

Another, found at Gatley in 1881, 8 inches by 3¼ inches.

DR. BEARDSLEY, Ulverston.

Perforated stone hammer of fellstone, 8⅝ inches long, 3¼ inches wide, 3 inches in depth, and weighs 4½ pounds. It was found in 1856 in a small wood at Ayside, Cartmell.

J. FITZHERBERT BROCKHOLES, Claughton Hall.

Perforated stone hammer, 7⅝ inches by 3½ inches, found at Claughton.

Perforated stone hammer, 4½ inches by 2 inches, found near Claughton (*Arch. Journ.*, vol. vi., p. 74).

REV. W. H. BURNS, Clayton Hall.

Perforated stone hammer, 3 inches by 5 inches, found in 1870 under the foundation of Borough Buildings, Corporation Street, Manchester, about 20 feet below the surface. Similar to No. 5.

THE EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES.

Perforated stone hammer, found along with several bronze celts, spear heads, and other implements, about 17 feet below the surface of the ground in a fissure in a limestone quarry, at Wegber, near Carnforth.

H. SWAINSON COOPER, Ambleside.

Perforated stone hammer, sandstone, 6½ inches by 3⅝ inches, depth of hole 2½ inches, found at Cark (see *Proc. Soc. of Ant.*, xi., p. 277).

Perforated stone hammer, 9½ inches by 3½ inches, depth of hole 2¾ inches, found in 1881 at Rusland, Windermere Lake.

Perforated stone hammer, 4¾ inches by 2½ inches, found in 1885 at Hawkshead.

SIR HUMPHREY DE TRAFFORD.

Perforated stone hammer, 8½ inches by 4½ inches, found in Blackshaw Farm, Chorley, Cheshire, in 1881. Similar to No. 4.

GEORGE ESDAILE.

Barbed arrow head, found in Tonman Street, Manchester.

G. K. HANNAY, Ulverston.

Perforated stone hammer, 10 inches by 4¼ inches, found in Rampside churchyard.

DAVID HEADRIDGE.

Perforated stone hammer, 8 inches by 4 inches, found at Baguley in 1885.

J. HORSFALL, Rochdale.

Flint arrow heads (barbed), from Great Winning Gulf, Middle Hill, and Bull Hill, Lanc.

Flint flakes and cores, from Turnshaw Hill, Middle Hill, Knowl Hill, Dean Clough, March Hill, and Tooter Hill.

ROBERT LAW, F.G.S., Halifax.

Flint arrow heads, barbed and leaf-shaped, from Wandsworth Moor, Cock Hill, Walsden Moor, Pule Hill, and Cupworth Hill.

W. PITT MILLER, Grange.

Stone celt, 7 inches by 3⅝ inches, found on Pilling Moss. Similar to No. 3.

Stone celt, 8½ inches by 2½ inches, found near Weeton in the Fylde.

Perforated stone hammer, 8½ inches by 4 inches, found in the same place. Fig. 4.

DR. H. COLLEY MARCH, Rochdale.

Arrow heads, minute gravers, thumbstones, worked flints, borers, &c., from Knowl Hill, Bull Hill, and other hills in the neighbourhood of Rochdale.

C. POTTER, Liverpool.

Flint arrow heads and flakes, from Hilbre Island.

SIR JAMES RAMSDEN.

Perforated stone hammer, 10½ inches by 4½ inches, found October, 1886, in a gravel bed 5 feet below the original surface, at a point about 80 yards north of Barrow Central Station. Similar to No. 4.

CHARLES ROEDER.

Perforated stone hammer of white quartzite, 4⅜ inches long, 3 inches wide, and 1⅜ inch thick, and other stone implements, found in Upper Lloyd Street, Greenheys. Similar to No. 7.

Hatchet (?) of black ironstone, found in Oxford Street, Manchester.

Stone implements, arrow heads, flakes, scrapers, &c., from Collyhurst, Broughton, Kersal Moor, Alderley, Radcliffe, Northwich, &c.

WILLIAM WATTS, F.G.S., Delph.

Neolithic polished celt, 9 inches in length, found in a cleft of rock in Millstone Edge, Saddleworth.

JOSEPH WALKER, Altrincham.

Perforated stone hammer, found in the Lake District.

JOHN WELD, Leagram Hall.

Early neolithic celt, found at Leagram, 5¼ inches long.

Another, 4¼ inches long, found at the same place.

Perforated stone hammer, 10¼ inches long, aperture worked from both sides. It was found in draining a field called Cow Ark, near Agricola's Road, in Bowland, about 1½ miles on the Yorkshire side of the Hodder.

GEORGE C. YATES, F.S.A.

Two rough stone hammers, Alderley copper mines.

Flint arrow head, lozenge shaped; and flint flake, found on Bull Hill.

CHADWICK MUSEUM, Bolton.

Part of a large perforated axe, found at Silverdale in 1871, 6⅛ inches by 4 inches (*Journ. Brit. A.S.*, vol. xxix., p. 304).

Perforated hammer, found at Silverdale, 1853, 3¼ inches by 2⅛ inches (*Journ. B.A.S.*, vol. xxix., p. 305). No. 7.

Perforated hammer, 3⅛ inches by 2⅛ inches, found about 6 feet in the alluvial sand, Bolton Public Park, 29th April, 1887 (similar to Evans, fig. 155). Similar to No. 7.

WARRINGTON MUSEUM.

Perforated stone hammer, 10 inches by 3⅝ inches, weighing 5 pounds 1 ounce, found at Longridge.

Perforated stone hammer, 9½ inches by 4½ inches, found near Preston.

Perforated stone hammer, 5 inches by 2 inches, found at Dean, near Bolton.

Perforated stone hammer, 9⅝ inches by 3½ inches, found at Dean, near Bolton.

Perforated stone hammer, circular, 7½ inches in diameter, found at Haydock.

Polished celt, 5⅝ inches by 2¼ inches, found at Orford, near Warrington.

Large celt of fawn-coloured hone-slate. It weighs 6¼ pounds, and measures 17⅝ inches in length and nearly 3⅝ inches across its greatest breadth (*Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, xv., p. 232; J. Evans, p. 107).

PRESTON MUSEUM.

Perforated stone hammer, 10 inches by 3⅝ inches, found at Longridge (see C. Hardwick's *Preston*, p. 7).

Perforated stone hammer, 9½ inches by 4¼ inches, found in the district.

Perforated stone hammer, 5 inches by 2 inches, found at Dean, near Bolton.

PEEL PARK, Salford.

Rough stone miner's hammer, from the Old Copper Mines, Alderley Edge, 1877.

Perforated stone hammer, grey trap, 8 inches long by 4 inches, Greenhill Farm, Tatham, near Lancaster, 1853.

Stone celt, Irish type, grey schist, 8¼ inches by 3½ inches, Winder Moor, Cartmell, 1865.

Stone celt, black schist, partly rubbed, 5 inches by 2⅛ inches, Lake district.

Large core, found 1869 under 3 feet of river gravel, now 76 feet above the river level, Ordsal Lane, Salford.

Neolithic flint scraper, from river gravel, Lower Broughton, 1880.

(Some of these are described in C. E. de Rances' *Superficial Geology of South-West Lancashire*, 1877.)

QUEEN'S PARK, Manchester.

Perforated stone hammer, 6½ inches by 3 inches, found in the blue clay of the till, near Turkey Lane, Harpurhey. Similar to No. 6.

Two stone rings of fine grained sandstone, found whilst excavating for Alexandra Park, Manchester.

LIVERPOOL MUSEUM.

Sandstone hammer head, found on the Cheshire shore, 1860, broken in two, and in a soft and fragile condition.

Two flint arrowheads, found on the Cheshire shore, 1857.

Two flint implements, found on the Cheshire shore, 1859 and 1872.

Arrowheads, flakes, scrapers, &c., found on the Cheshire shore.

Barbed arrowhead and flake, found near urns, scrapers, &c., at Wavertree, near Liverpool (J. Evans, p. 347).

Celt of clay slate, 4 inches long, and ground at the edge, found in Parliament Fields, Toxteth Park (J. Evans, p. 87).

Celt and part of wooden handle, found at Tranmere (J. Evans, p. 137; *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. and C.*, xiv., pl. 11, 3).

BLACKMORE MUSEUM, Salisbury.

Stone celt, 13⅛ inches long, 3⅛ inches wide, and 1⅞ inches thick; the butt end round and sharpened, though the edge has been removed by grinding. Found five or six feet deep in gravel at Shaw Hall, near Flixton (*Arch. Journ.*, vii., p. 389).

Stone celt, 8 inches long, 3 inches broad, and 1½ inches thick, found near Keswick.

The following additional stone implements are mentioned by Mr. C. E. de Rance, of the Geological Survey, in *The Superficial Geology of South-West Lancashire*, 1877:—

Hatchet of dark stone, found in peat, near Martin Mere, figured in Leigh's *Natural History of Lancashire*, 1700.

Gritstone hammer, with circular helve hole, 12 inches long, found at Throstle Nest, figured in Whitaker's *History of Manchester*, 1771.

Gritstone hammer, found near Darwen, exhibited to Manchester Geological Society, 1868, by Mr. Parker.

Polished stone celt, found in a level of Old Moor workings in a hematite ore mine. Mr. Jackson, Ulverston, 1866.

Stone axe and flint flake knife, with two other implements, from floor of Kirtshead Cave, near Ulverston. Exhibited by Bolton and Morris, 1864.

Stone hammer, from the soil under floor of a stable at Ouban's Cottage, Ulverston. Mr. Wilson, 1868.

Small stone hammer of dark green colour, highly polished, from gravel of Middleton; and dark grey stone hammer, from valley of the Tame, found by Mr. Shaw. Exhibited by Mr. Binney at the Geological Society.

Stone hammer of clay ironstone, from boulder clay at Harpurhey. Exhibited at Geological Society by Mr. Devis.

Quoit-shaped implement, 6 inches in diameter, from drift 20 feet below the surface, Stalybridge Railway Station. In possession of Mr. Woolven, station-master, Ashton.

Small ring of stone, found in Macclesfield gravel, 1866.

Stone hammer and two stone axes, from Clitheroe. Mr. R. M. Knowles, Geological Society.

Two stone hammers, exhibited by Mr. Horn, from Oldham.

Stone (Lake District hornstone) hatchet, found by side of Loughrigg Tarn, by Dr. Craddock, of Brasenose, Oxon., and given by him to Mr. Wheatley-Balme, of Loughrigg.

Finds of stone implements from the following districts in Lancashire and Cheshire are described in John Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*:—

Ayside, Newby Bridge, p. 178; Dean, near Bolton, p. 178; Furness, p. 179, 204; Garstang, Claughton Hall, p. 188; Haydock, near Newton, p. 206; Heathwaite-in-Furness, p. 418; Hopwood, p. 178; Liverpool Docks, p. 151; Newton, p. 107; Shaw Hall, Flixton, p. 107; Toxteth, p. 87; Wavertree, p. 347; Windy Harbour Farm, Pendle, p. 106; Winwick, near Warrington, p. 190. *Cheshire:* Siddington, near Macclesfield, p. 178; Tranmere, p. 137; Tabley, near Knutsford, p. 163.

Local finds of stone implements are recorded in the following works:—

Arch. of Mersey District, 1867, p. 15. *Arch. Journ.*, vol. vi., p. 74; vol. vii., p. 389; vol. xviii., p. 158. *Arch. Assoc. Journ.*, vol. xv., p. 232, 233; vol. xvi., p. 295. *Archæologia*, vol. ii., p. 125; vol. xxxi., p. 452, 325. *Geologist*, vol. vii., p. 56. *Tr. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Ches.*, N. S., vol. viii., p. 131; vol. xii., p. 189; vol. xiv., pl. ii., p. 3. *Horae Ferales*, pl. ii., p. 7; *id.*, p. 134. *Stukeley Itin. Curios.*, 2nd ed., vol. i., p. 54. *The Superficial Geology of South-West Lancashire*, C. E. de Rance, 1877. *Lanc. and Ches. Ant. Soc.*, vol. i., p. 24; vol. ii., p. 4, 116; vol. iv., p. 258. *Blackmore Museum Guide*, p. 22. *Trans. Manchester Geological Soc.*, vol. vii., p. 73, 30 June, 1874.

For the foregoing illustrations, from *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, by John Evans, D.C.L., F.R.S., the Society is indebted to the author.

Monday, September 12th, 1887.

The members met in Ancoats Hall, in "Old Manchester and Salford," at the Royal Jubilee Exhibition. Mr. Alderman W. H. Bailey presided.

The Rev. Father Moyes read a paper on the Chantry Chapel on the Old Salford Bridge (see p. 165).

A few additional particulars with regard to the chapel and the bridge on which it stands were given by the Chairman and Mr. Alfred Darbyshire. The latter alluded to the architectural features of the reproduction of the chantry, and expressed his indebtedness to Monsignor Gadd and Canon Beesley for the assistance they had given him in carrying out the work.

Mr. George Esdaile submitted a paper on the Charters of Manchester and Salford (see p. 242). He also submitted some animadversions on the Roman inscriptions placed at each side of the entrance within the "Roman gateway" of Old Manchester.

Friday, October 7th, 1887.

The first meeting of the winter session took place in Chetham's Library. Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., presided. The following objects were exhibited:—

By Mr. T. Letherbrow, a series of old German engravings of royal and famous personages of the sixteenth century.

By Mr. G. C. Yates, a series of lead tokens, Manchester tokens of the last century, farthings of Charles I. and II. and James I., halfpenny and farthing of King Edgar.

By Mr. S. Jackson, a photograph of a quern found near Garstang Castle moat.

Stone implements were exhibited by the Rev. W. H. Burns, Mr. C. Roeder, and the Liverpool Museum.

Professor W. Boyd Dawkins said: There are one or two points which may, perhaps, be of interest to you as bearing upon the progress of knowledge during the last twelve

months. In the first place, I dare say it will be within the memory of most of us that there has been an interesting discussion as to the derivation of the art in the Runic crosses and in the Irish manuscripts. The question was put exceeding well before us in the useful address which was given to us by Professor Browne at our meeting last November. Since that time some slight light has been thrown upon this question. The question may simply be said to resolve itself into this—Did the Irish missionaries derive the singularly beautiful art, which is so characteristic of the manuscripts and of the Runic crosses, from some other source, or did they invent it themselves? If we look at the distribution of the knotted rope design and the late Celtic design, we note the fact that whenever the Germanic tribes made their appearance, the knotted rope pattern was found. Wherever the Germanic tribes went we find that ornamentation. The question then narrowed itself into this, Did the Irish missionaries introduce this art among the German tribes, or did the Irish missionaries receive this art from the Germanic invaders? That was the condition of the problem twelve months ago, and now I am glad to be able to point out that, by an appeal to the history of Gaul and Germany, there is absolute and distinct proof that those very designs which are so beautiful on the Runic crosses in this country and in Ireland and the Isle of Man, were, in nearly every detail, in use on the continent before any Irish missionary set foot there. It seems to me that the conclusion that they were derived from the Germanic invaders is a conclusion which cannot be avoided. Nor, indeed, can there be any wonder that it is so. There can be no wonder that the Irish missionaries should have been influenced by the Germanic art, for the very simple reason that the Irish Christianity was derived from Gaul, and Gaul at that time was under the influence of the Germanic tribes. I would further say that I have distinct evidence of the influence of Burgundians as far north as the abbey of Iona. Towards the close of the seventh century a Burgundian monk, one Peter, took refuge

in the abbey of Iona and wintered there. That fact shows contact between the people of the Germanic tribes and outsiders, and the mode of the introduction of that school of art which is so characteristic of the period from the seventh century onwards to the twelfth or thirteenth in the region of Northumbria, in Scotland, in the Isle of Man, and in parts of Ireland. Such, then, is one point which I have ventured to think is worthy of being put before you.

In comparison with this very simple addition to our knowledge, the one I am now going to place before you is out of all comparison the greater. During the last three years General Pitt Rivers has been working out in a most princely fashion the remains in the district of Wiltshire in which he lives. He has been working out in the neighbourhood of his house, Rushmore Park, a remarkable series of Roman villages. Up to this time we have known perfectly the traces of the great palaces and houses of the Romans in this country: we know much of their camps, but very little of the country villages. At Rushmore, General Pitt Rivers has explored a set of villages, the practical results of which I will endeavour to set before you. In the first place these villages were surrounded by a rampart and ditch. The houses were for the most part built in a circular manner, and consisted of huts sunk several feet below the surface of the ground, covered in all probability by slates and shingles. But there were several which were square, and others again which were larger than the ordinary huts, being perhaps ten or fifteen feet long, and eight, or, it may be, as much as ten feet wide. Some of these had a hypocaust, a kind of heating apparatus which we cannot beat at the present time. It is very interesting to note that the villagers did as much as they could to imitate in their humble dwellings the heating apparatus of the Roman villa. The village was a purely agricultural one. Wheat was grown very similar to that which is growing there now, but slightly smaller. With regard to the animals he brings out another point. They kept, of course, a number of

domestic animals, and besides the hog, and others, they kept various breeds of domestic dogs. Among them is the ancestor of the turnspit dog, or the dog which is remarkable for its bandy-leggedness, and which is known in fashionable drawing-rooms as the Dachshund. That was found in the little village of Rushmore.

The date is fixed most excellently by the coins, which begin with Caligula, A.D. 41, and go down as late as Gallus in A.D. 252. The range of these coins at once gives a clue to the date of the village. The village must have been destroyed after the coinage of the last-dated coin. And when one looks at the human remains which were discovered in this village, the skulls, marked with sword cuts, and the skeletons of little boys flung on one side, point to the fact that the village must have been destroyed by some invader or another. The whole group of implements and ornaments are exactly of the same order as those found in the caves all the way from Torquay right away to Yorkshire. In Poole's Cave at Buxton there are remains similar to those of Rushmore. These discoveries throw great light upon a period of history upon which we know very little, and the results of it have been worked out and published by General Pitt Rivers in a most admirable monograph. I can only hope that he will go on with his explorations, and that his examination will be followed by others. England is full of remains which require digging. It was only the other day that I heard of a discovery of a mining village near Grantham belonging to the Anglian times. The remains were found in the process of working iron ore beds, and it was undoubtedly an Anglian mining village. It now only awaits an explorer. The remains are being scattered about here and there, and I refer to it merely as an illustration of the sort of work which societies of this kind have lying at their doors.

The Rev. E. F. Letts asked Professor Dawkins how he accounted for the fact that there were so few traces of the Runic ornaments on crosses in England. He had

mentioned the Isle of Man, Scotland, Ireland, and Gaul. How was it that England, especially in the south, had escaped?

Mr. Robert Langton asked if the Roman villages were known to extend tolerably well over England. Some had been found in the north and were called "pit villages." Indeed he might say large numbers had been found there.

Mr. A. Nicholson asked if the villages were defensible. There were two or three villages in the north of England of that character, which varied very much. There had always been a great contention as to whether they were of a Roman or a later period.

Mr. George Esdaile described the finding of a number of remains, covering a large area, at Westbury, in Wiltshire. He said the trenches in which the remains were found appeared to have been filled with a variety of objects, partly Roman and partly British.

Professor Dawkins, in reply to the questions, said the villages which General Pitt Rivers had explored were not fortified, and they were in quite a different position to the camps. Most of the camps of the Neolithic and Bronze ages which were to be found in this country, especially in the south, had been occupied during the Roman period in Britain, and those, of course, were in strong places of vantage. The villages in Wiltshire were upon the slopes of the hills, and in those instances there was scarcely anything that tended towards their discovery. With regard to the destruction of those places, he was afraid time would not permit of his going into the matter. Undoubtedly there was a good deal of fighting between the Roman legions and the Pictish and other freebooters, the country being in a condition of anarchy. With regard to the Belgæ, he hardly thought it likely that they had anything to do with it, because the Belgic invasion was pre-Roman. With regard to the question of Mr. Letts, he was able to answer from a long experience that he believed the absence of the Runic ornamentation in the churches of England is due to the fact of the old orna-

mentation being destroyed. We find evidence in the buried Runic cross in Peterborough Cathedral that will account for the rarity of that style of ornamentation over the greater part of England.

Mr. R. D. Darbishire then read a paper upon Lübeck, in connection with which he exhibited numerous interesting photographs of buildings and works of art in Lübeck.

Mr. Samuel Andrew read a paper entitled A Local Chapter in the History of the Commonwealth, and embodying an account of a dispute between Henry Wrigley and the Rev. John Lake, of Prestwich, afterwards Bishop of Chichester.*

Mr. Nathan Heywood read a contribution upon Lancashire and Cheshire Tokens of the Seventeenth Century (see p. 64), which he illustrated with many interesting specimens.

New members elected: William Pullinger, Thomas Henry Manners, Alexander Brooke, William Smith, M.D., Miss Mary Morton, Miss Martha Morton, H. D. Curnick.

Saturday, October 15th, 1887.

LEYLAND CHURCH AND WORDEN HALL.

Over forty members of the Society went to Leyland, under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates, F.S.A. On arriving at the church, the vicar of Leyland, the Rev. T. Rigbye Baldwin, the two assistant clergy—the Rev. W. Stuart White and the Rev. B. Davies—and Colonel ffarington awaited the members, to give information respecting the antiquities to be found within the limits of the building and its surrounding graveyard. The church stands on an elevated spot near the centre of the village and township. It consists at present of a well-built tower and a somewhat interesting chancel, joined, alas, by a miserable erection in the shape of a nave, put up in 1817 under the direction of a man named Longworth, more celebrated as a combatant at Waterloo than as a skilled or competent architect. The

* This paper has since been printed *in extenso* in the *Oldham Chronicle.*

important desideratum of more accommodation was certainly attained, but no one can help lamenting the wilful destruction of a building which had stood intact since the fourteenth century, and which refused to yield to crowbar and pickaxe, but required gunpowder to work its destruction. The tower is a broad, strongly-built structure of three stories, some twenty feet square in exterior measurement. The main entrance is through a low, pointed west door, over which is a modern window of three lights filled with stained glass which dates from the restoration in 1875. In the thickness of each of the graduated buttresses which support the tower at its angles are two niches, presumably for statues. The windows of the bell-chamber are good ones of an ordinary early English type. Above these and just beneath the parapet are several curious carvings, of which it is not easy to make out the meaning. One figure appears to be some long-beaked bird, such as a snipe, having next to it a couple of cross crosslets. It was suggested that a rebus was thus formed. The tower contains a ring of six sweet-toned bells, which may be heard at the quarters chiming like those of St. Mary's at Cambridge. In a deed, date April 9, 1524, directions are given for the "ryngyng of all y^{e} bells att y^{e} said church," thus implying the existence of a peal of bells in this church at that date. The present bells do not any of them date earlier than Abraham Rudhall's time, by whom, however, the old ones may have been recast.

The portion of the graveyard opposite the west door was formerly the site of the ancient tithe barn, and was appropriated to its present purpose in 1850, or thereabouts. There is another portion to the extreme east which was given by the present vicar, from his glebe, in 1885. The main portion, however, has served its present purpose for many centuries. There is a reference to it in a deed of 1397 as "Cimiterium Ecclesiæ de Leylond." On an angle of the wall, between the churchyard and the vicarage garden, may be seen a broken portion of some of the upper stonework of the tower, with certain obscure signs or characters cut in

relief upon it. In the same wall is inserted a cubical block once forming part of an old tomb. The inscription runs "Thomas: Cuerden: F: P . . . 1590 : 1." It seems to have belonged to a tomb now standing near the old grammar school, which has two similar inscriptions. Of the gravestones remaining in what is presumed to be their original position, there are several with raised letters which are quite clear and distinct although over two hundred years old. In fact there is a considerable number dating from the seventeenth century in different parts of the yard. The inscriptions have all been carefully copied and preserved. Much curiosity and interest was shown by the members with respect to a tomb bearing the date 1588. The inscription runs round the edges of the upper surface, and consists of incised capitals. It is as follows:—

HERE LYETHE THE BODYE OF WILLIAM WALKER BATCHELOR OF MUSICKE AND CLARKE OF THIS PARISH OF LEYLAND FOR THE SPACE OF XXV. YEARS AND DYED THE XXTH OF APRIL 1588.

Over the head of a rudely-drawn figure of a man, having a piece of musical notation in his hand (and which fills the middle portion of the slab), are the words "Musica Medecina Mentis Mœstæ," and at his feet "Nulla dies sine linea." Attention was drawn to a collection of loose stones and slabs which are deposited within an iron railing at the south-east angle, formed by the chancel and the nave. These were found in 1852 in the foundations of this part of the church, which forms the chapel long appropriated to the use of the ffarington family. Without doubt these stones consist of portions of a previously-existing church, and were built in (according to ancient custom) when the present fabric was raised. There are parts of a good Norman doorway, a Norman capital, two Norman grave slabs with floriated crosses cut upon their upper surfaces, one of which has also the shears (said to denote the office of archdeacon), besides several other interesting fragments. Within a few

feet of the east window of the church there are two stones marking the resting-place of the last scions of the Leyland branch of the Charnock family (whose chief resided at Astley Hall, near Chorley). These people were frequently in difficulties with the ruling powers, since they were determined recusants. The last of the line was in Roman orders, and acted as Vicar Apostolic for the North. He was known "in religion" as Robert Manley, he making use of his mother's name. When he died his property was found to be bequeathed to his housekeeper, Grace Bold, absolutely. Upon her death there was objection made to her disposal of the estate, as not being in accordance with the intentions of her late master. This led to inquiry and the ultimate forfeiture of the property to the crown, for Robert Charnock was found to have made a secret will charging the said Grace Bold with the stewardship of the estate, the proceeds to go towards the support of secular priests of the Romish obedience working in Lancashire. The courts ruled this to be disloyal and unlawful, and advised the crown (William and Mary) to devote the forfeited estate to charitable uses. Upon petition of the local nobility and gentry, the crown conferred it upon the vicarage of Leyland. The whole of the documents connected with these trials are in the possession of the vicar of Leyland.

After leaving the church the members inspected the remains of the village cross on the way to Worden Park. At the Hall they were received by the Misses ffarington in the gallery, and afterwards proceeded to the entrance hall, when Mr. Yates described the pictures. Amongst them are a large painting by Wooton of George ffarington of Worden, his huntsman Will Charnock, horse and hounds; a portrait of Major-General ffarington, who served under Marlborough, and received a commission from William Prince of Orange in the Coldstream Guards in December, 1688; and portraits of Richard Atherton, of Atherton, and Elizabeth ffarington, of Worden, and their daughter, afterwards Mrs. Gwillym, sole survivor of seven children. Their

line ended in three co-heiresses, viz., Lady Lilford, Mrs. James Hornby, and Mrs. Legh Keck. Amongst the other pictures are portraits of Mrs. Hesketh, of Rufford, and Margaret, daughter of John Bradshaw, of Pennington, widow of George ffarington, of Worden, died 1771. In one corner of the hall is a finely-preserved oak chair said to be of the time of Henry the Seventh. There are also some excellent querns, and a large Roman weight of stone found on the estate. The old poker is dated 1671. A fine set of musical stones from Keswick, on which the leader played several tunes, was an object of attraction. The Morning Room was next visited, the ceilings and designs were done by an Italian named Concillio, much employed by the gentry in the neighbourhood about 1775. He is supposed to have lived at Standish. There are several excellent pictures in this room, amongst them are Roslyn Castle and the Sand Pit, by Joseph Farington, R.A.; Landscape, by Wooton; a remarkable water-colour, by Miss Gertrude Matthews. In the Drawing-room the leader called attention to a beautiful Italian Cabinet, painted by Gordoni, about the time of Charles the First; also to another large water-colour of Madonna and Child, by Miss Chawner; Dort, by old Griffin; and pictures by Morland, Lancret, and others. In the Oak Room are portraits of Sir Thomas More, Richard first Lord Molyneux; William ffarington, of Worden, comptroller to Edward and Henry, Earls of Derby; Ann Talbot, of Bashall, wife of William ffarington; Thomas, eldest son of William ffarington, painted in 1593; James, seventh Earl of Derby, beheaded at Bolton; Charles his son, the eighth Earl, taken as a boy of ten (these were painted by Stone); George son of William ffarington, Major Henry ffarington, and Sir Kenelm Digby. In this room is a collection of old deeds and autograph letters; amongst them are the Derby Household Books, an autograph letter of Oliver Cromwell, deeds of Henry VII. to Sir Henry ffarington, Penwortham; and old deeds from Henry I. to Henry VIII. These were described by Mr. J. P. Earwaker. On the staircase are

portraits of Edward, third Earl of Derby, Henry fourth Earl, Ferdinand fifth Earl, and Edward eleventh Earl of Derby, died 1776, by Pickering; and Joseph Farington, R.A., by Sir Thomas Lawrence. In the chapel Mr. Yates called attention to some admirably painted glass by Miss ffarington, and afterwards read a history of the present chapel at Worden. Other parts of the hall were visited, including the private museum, which has been admirably arranged by Miss M. H. ffarington. It contains many interesting local relics, and one of the most remarkable collections of rocks and fossils to be found in Lancashire. They were collected from the middle glacial gravels on the Worden estate from 1823 to the present time.

A vote of thanks to the Misses ffarington for their courtesy and hospitality, proposed by Archdeacon Anson, seconded by Mr. Sales, brought the proceedings to a close.

The members walked through the conservatories and grounds to Leyland Station, and left for Manchester at half-past six o'clock.

Friday, November 4th, 1887.

A meeting was held at Chetham's Library, Mr. Robert Langton in the chair. The following objects were exhibited:—

By Mr. G. C. Yates, an ancient fumigator made of boxwood, with silver mounts, on which is inscribed E.B. 1705, also a series of views of Old Manchester.

By Mr. John Owen, perforated pottery from Hale, Cheshire.

By Mr. N. Heywood, *Les delices de la Campagne*, with Robert Southey's autograph.

By Mr. Charles Roeder, Roman pottery from Wilderspool.

Mr. Yates read a short communication from Mr. W. H. Heathcote, of Preston, upon Recent Discoveries in the Ribble Valley, in which the author said: During the past two years many interesting discoveries, both to the antiquary and

geologist, have been made by the workmen engaged in the diversion of the River Ribble and the construction of the new docks for the Preston corporation. It may be easily understood from the extensive nature of the work and huge size of the docks that many thousand cubic yards of earth have been removed, and by cutting deep into the alluvial deposits of many centuries, has brought to light many objects, the sight of which carries us back in fancy to the time of the ancient Britons, the Romans, and the herds of deer and wild oxen, which roamed at will along the banks of the Ribble. A very large number of antlers and horns of these animals, the skulls of two pilot whales (*Sphærocephalus incrassatus*), the hinder portion of the left jaw of the razor-back whale (*Physalus antiquorum* (?)), and a number of the vertebræ of whales have been found. Many of the antlers are of immense size and carry a most unusual number of points. I have counted the number of points on twenty-four pairs, and the following list is the result of my calculations: One pair with eleven points, five with twelve, one with thirteen, seven with fourteen, one with fifteen, two with sixteen, one with seventeen, two with eighteen, one with nineteen, two with twenty-two; one pair alone had twenty-four points. This latter specimen may, I think, be considered unique. There appears to have been two breeds of wild oxen, large and small, which have interbred, as may be seen by a fine series of horns, which gradually range from one foot four inches up to three feet eleven inches, measuring both horns. Thirteen human skulls have been found. One of them at least is a river-drift skull, several oval ones, and two or three brachycephalic skulls. About eighteen months ago, one of the men found a bronze leaf-shaped spear head, similar to the one found by Mr. Richardson, at Walton, about 1842. Early this year what has apparently been a Norman battle-axe was found. The general shape may be seen, but it is too thickly encrusted with pebbles to form a very correct idea of it. The socket and a portion of the wooden shaft, however, are distinct. The most recent and

important discovery was made on October 7th, when a canoe, cut out of the trunk of an oak tree, was found. It was embedded in the river gravel about fourteen feet from the surface, and when found was almost perfect. It is eight feet nine inches long, two feet six and five-eighths of an inch in the widest part, and eleven and a quarter inches deep inside. At the gunwale the sides are about one inch thick, and get gradually thicker towards the bottom, which is one inch thick. In the bow there has been a hole for mooring purposes, and another at the stern, from which at a distance of seven inches is, or rather was, a board, one inch thick, fitted in grooves, and caulked with bark. I cannot tell the object of this board. I thought at first that the end of the boat had been accidentally broken out, and the board fixed in to stop up the end, but the form of the stern and the grooves do not admit of this explanation. This same peculiarity may be seen in an ancient canoe found in the bogs of Cahore, on the coast of Wexford, Ireland. The symmetry and approximation in form to our modern boats will assign this canoe to a more recent date than has been generally supposed. The lines are very fine, the general shape is very good, and exhibits traces of good workmanship. It was found opposite the Castle Hill, Penwortham, on which excavations were made during the visit of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society to Preston, in June, 1856, and remains of a large human habitation were traced. In these remains was discovered a broken canoe paddle made of oak. It is possible that the canoe belonged to the owner of this habitation, also that it was accustomed to be moored in the river opposite the dwelling. It was probably swamped in some great flood, and when found was imbedded beside two oak trees, all being covered with debris from the river. After lying here for centuries this relic of early navigation has found a resting-place in the Preston Museum. A good many canoes have been found in other parts of Lancashire. In 1869, there was one found in the peat at Brickfield Farm, Rufford. This canoe was nearly

perfect when first dug out of the soil, the sides of the boat alone showing signs of decay. The boat's seats, four in number, occupied the places they did when it plied the lake centuries ago. The width of this canoe was two feet ten inches and the depth one foot eight inches. Dr. Leigh, in his *Natural History of Lancashire and Cheshire* (1700), says: "Upon the draining of this meer (Marton Mere) were found no less than eight canoos, in figure and dimensions not much unlike those used in America. As to these canoos, one of which had some plates of iron upon it, 'tis my opinion they were made use of by the Ancient Britons in fishing these meers and passing rivers. These canoos might probably be sunk here that they might be rendered of no advantage to the Romans, when the natives were forced to quit their habitations by their prevailing arms."

Mr. Samuel Andrew read a paper upon Ancient Crosses in Oldham. He described a number of crosses found in the vicinity of Oldham, which he thought had been used as parochial or ecclesiastical landmarks or boundaries. He also considered that the crosses had been erected by or had some connection with the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.*

Mr. H. H. Sales thought Mr. Andrew had not proved his point that the crosses were connected with the Knights of St. John. He considered that they were simply used as boundary crosses.

Mr. Langton thought that the crosses were originally made of stone. Mr. Andrew's paper had reminded him of a fine Runic cross that had been removed by a mason in Derbyshire, who put it in a shed adjoining his own house. There it remained for some time, but the fact of his having removed it so pricked his conscience and disturbed him at night that he took it in a wagon and put it back again. The Rev. Mr. Browne, of Cambridge, heard of this, and at his own expense set it up on a base.

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* This paper has since been printed in the *Oldham Chronicle*.

The Rev. T. Boston Johnstone submitted a proof copy of his forthcoming book, *Bolton, Druidical and Roman*, and gave an explanation as to his object in writing the work.

Mr. George Esdaile read a paper entitled, Were the Romans acquainted with Ireland? (see p. 146).

Mr. William E. A. Axon, in the discussion which followed, said there was no doubt that Ireland was mentioned by the many writers which Mr. Esdaile had cited. That the Romans had a knowledge of Ireland there was no reason to doubt, but he did not think they had ever had a settlement in that country. Nor, he thought, was it unlikely that some of the Irish tribesmen were occasionally in the Roman service. He should also hesitate to accept the fact of any inscriptions or other tangible evidence in the archæological remains of Ireland itself.

The Rev. T. Boston Johnstone said he had a treatise called *Ireland not the Hibernia of the Ancients*,* in which the author tried to show that Scotia referred to the north-eastern part of Scotland, that Hibernia was really Iceland, and that the name of Hibernia was never applied to Ireland until the eleventh century. The old name of Ireland was really Britain. He did not endorse these views, but thought that the difference of opinion should be noted.

Mr. Langton said there was no doubt whatever that the Romans had been in Ireland, for plenty of Roman remains and coins had been found.

Mr. Esdaile, in reply, said he believed that many coins had been found in Ireland, which, to his mind, indisputably showed that the Romans had at one time held the land. The place-names in various parts of Ireland also led one to believe that the Romans were acquainted with that country. Matter was continually turning up in Ireland in the form of clasps and gorgets, with ornamentation upon them, identical to that used by the Romans.

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* This is included in a volume, entitled *Notes on the Early History of Scotland*, published anonymously at Peebles, in 1883.

Friday, December 2nd, 1887.

A meeting held at Chetham's Library. Mr. W. E. A. Axon presided.

Mr. W. S. Churchill contributed some observations relative to the Harkirke find of coins (see p. 219).

Mr. H. T. Crofton read a paper upon Folk-Moots of Lancashire and Cheshire (see p. 117).

The Rev. E. F. Letts, in opening the discussion on Mr. Crofton's paper, said he was particularly interested with the description of the names of the streets. Fennel Street he believed to be of exactly the same meaning as funnel, a narrow passage. When he was in Brittany last spring he found a street there in a little old town called "La Venella." With regard to Todd Street, there was a lane in Rochdale in a very similar position, leading down the hill from the church, and that strengthened his belief that it was the boundary of the ancient churchyard, the "Death Lane," or the lane along which the dead were carried. He quite agreed with Mr. Crofton about the antiquity of the cathedral site. He did not say much about the addition to the town which must have been made during the baronial period of its history to include the court of the baron and the Market Place. It seemed to him (Mr. Letts) that there must have been a barbican or outwork running from the Millgate, the corner of the Cathedral Gates, as it is called now, running along to the present Exchange, where there was a gate called Acker's Gate. That he found from an old map of Manchester. It was the gate that he thought was wanted to complete the barbican or outwork. The St. Mary Gate would be the next corner of this quadrangular outwork, enclosing the Smithy Door and the Smithy Croft, which was another name which he found. The fourth gate would be the Deansgate, making, he thought, the four gates of the quadrangular outwork. He concluded by saying he thought Mr. Crofton's etymology extremely ingenious.

Mr. W. Norbury thought Toad Lane, instead of being a

relic of Tithing Lane, was more likely to have been the old word toad (frog) pronounced "too-ad." He thought there was no guide so good as the pronunciation of old people. He considered "Fennel" was originated from the plant called fennel, a conclusion quite as likely as fennel being from funnel.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman said that Toad Lane was the only place that in his researches he had found to be crown lands. The land on which this lane stood belonged to the crown in the reign of James I., being described as part of the manor of Enfield.

Messrs. A. Nicholson, R. Langton, John Owen, S. E. Haworth, and the Rev. J. E. Odgers also joined in the conversation.

The Chairman, in closing the discussion, said one curious survival of the word "moot" was found in the fact that the present town hall of Clitheroe was called the Moot-Hall, meaning the hall in which the public assembly was held.

Mr. Crofton, in reply, said with regard to Fennel Street, there was once an apple market on that spot, and perhaps apples used to be wrapped in fennel leaves. The word "venella" was the Latin term for passage, fennel possibly being the same etymologically. With regard to Toad Lane being the dead lane, he considered that suggestion to be based on very slippery ground. He could not agree that "gate" meant a structure, being simply the old word for the road, meaning the right of passage.

The Rev. S. H. Parkes read a paper upon the Astrologers in Lancashire and Cheshire. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Parkes said that most of the astrologers of the two counties belonged to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The most famous of astrologers to whom local claim could be laid was Dr. John Dee, at one time warden of the Chetham College, and perhaps one of the most fantastic and interesting figures that the history of astrology presented. He was born in 1527. Under the reign of Queen Mary,

Dee was charged maliciously with seeking to compass Her Majesty's death by magic, a charge of which he was only acquitted after formal trial. Under Elizabeth, on the contrary, he was employed to counterwork the spells of some who, using a waxen doll for their sorcery, had plotted against the "Maiden Queen." It was under the reign and patronage of Elizabeth that Dee's greatest prosperity was attained. He calculated the queen's nativity, and was even consulted to find a propitious day for her coronation. It was also reported that she sought the advice of Dee as to the possible destinies of wedlock, and that during his residence at Mortlake, where his house still stood, he was honoured on one or two occasions with a short informal visit from the queen. Dee travelled much in Europe, and at Antwerp published a work upon astrology, called *Monas Hieroglyphica*, of which an interesting copy was to be seen in the Manchester Free Library. He was denounced by the pope's nuncio as an impostor, and in consequence was banished from Prague. During the greater part of his continental experiences the doctor was accompanied by Edward Kelly, a clever but deceitful person, who at one time visited Lancashire and roamed about, now professing to raise the dead by incantations, and at another time to extract communications from their lifeless bodies. Kelly ignominiously ended his career in trying to escape from the prison at Prague, where he had been confined for roguery. After his companion's death, Dr. Dee returned to England, and was at length presented with the wardenship of the Manchester College, being at that time in his sixty-ninth year. It was one of the anomalies of the time that Dee had never received ordination nor "authority to preach the Word." He cared more for astrology and mathematical science than for divinity, and was frequently involved in squabbles with the tenants of the college lands. He was much assailed by Oliver Carter, a venerable fellow of the college, who had a particular spite against all alchemists, astrologers, and soothsayers; and Dee, in his journal, often complained of the old gentleman's

"contumacious behaviour." In 1604 the wizard warden quitted Manchester, and retired once more to Mortlake, where he died at the age of eighty-one. Mr. Parkes then gave some particulars of John Booker, born in Manchester, 1603; Richard Kuerden, born at Cuerden, 1622; Henry Crabtree, who for some time in the seventeenth century held the curacy of Todmorden; Charles Leadbetter, born at Cronton, near Prescot; and Richard Rowlinson, commonly known as "Owd Rollinson," who was a "gaffer," or overseer, at Roe Green, Worsley, in a cottage now inhabited by his descendants, upon whom, however, the prophetic mantle had not fallen.

A short discussion followed, in which Messrs. Warburton, S. C. Haworth, and the Chairman joined.

Exhibits: Mr. John Cooper, A "magic crystal;" Mr. C. Roeder, Ogilby's survey and other maps; Mr. Tinkler, Two gold rings, with signs of the zodiac; Mr. T. Oxley, Model of an Esquimaux kia; Mr. A. Baynton, *Recent Statement of the Socinian Controversy*, by William Sherlock, D.D., 1698.

New members elected: Dr. Gillibrand and Mr. S. F. Butcher.

Friday, December 16th, 1887.

ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE.

The annual conversazione took place at Owens College, and was largely attended. The guests having spent a little time in looking over the collection of old and rare books, autograph letters, and other literary treasures contained in the college library, proceeded to the chemical theatre. The chair was taken by Principal Greenwood, and a lecture on The Citadel of the German Knights was delivered by Professor A. W. Ward, M.A., vice-chancellor of the Victoria University (see p. 193). The lecture was illustrated by a series of pictures shown on the screen by means of an oxy-hydrogen lantern.

A cordial vote of thanks was given to Dr. Ward on the motion of Canon C. W. Woodhouse, seconded by the Rev. J. E. Odgers.

The following were among the objects placed on the library tables for inspection:—

By Mr. Albert Nicholson, a fine collection of Manchester portraits, bound in a large folio volume.

By Mr. Robert Langton, a prehistoric terra-cotta flute from an American funeral mound.

By Mr. G. Esdaile, a view of Hulme Hall by Duval, three photographs of remains of Garrett Hall, and other objects.

By Mr. G. C. Yates, a series of coloured illustrations of costumes of the court of Rome.

By Miss Yates, four albums of autograph letters of celebrated men.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society have much pleasure in presenting their fifth Annual Report, together with a Financial Statement for the last twelve months.

During the year fourteen members have joined the Society. We have lost three members by death and six by resignation and other causes; the total number of members now on the roll being three hundred and fifteen. The total is made up of four Honorary, forty-seven Life, and two hundred and sixty-four Ordinary Members.

The Rev. William Anderson O'Conor, B.A., rector of St. Simon and St. Jude's Church, Manchester, died on 22nd March, 1887, aged sixty-seven. He joined the Society soon after its formation in 1883, but his failing health prevented him from taking any active share in its proceedings. He was an eloquent preacher, and an accomplished and witty lecturer and writer. One of his latest publications was a *History of the Irish People*, in two volumes.

Mr. Thomas Holden, whose death occurred on 21st December, 1887, in his seventy-eighth year, was one of the original members of the Society. He was a native of Bolton, and was educated at the Grammar School in that town. Admitted a solicitor in 1833, he had a successful and honourable professional career. He took an active share in the promotion of the public library and many other useful institutions of his native town. He was an ardent

bibliophile and collected an extensive library. When the Society visited Bolton in October, 1886, Mr. Holden acted as chairman of the local committee, and in that capacity did much to ensure the gratifying success which attended that interesting meeting.

Mr. John Hirst, J.P., F.R.M.S., was another of our early members. He was a member of the Council of the Yorkshire Archæological Society and the owner of a remarkable library, including a curious collection of ancient Bibles and early manuscripts. He exhibited and described an interesting series of "stencil books" at our meeting in April, 1886.

The most important meeting during the year was a five days' visit to Leamington and neighbourhood, including Oxford, Stratford-on-Avon, Warwick, and Coventry. The meeting may be regarded as most satisfactory; and this result was due to the kind and assiduous labours of the local committee.

Other summer meetings were held at Knutsford and Peover, at Bramhall Hall, at the Royal Jubilee Exhibition on two occasions, at Clayton Hall, Lyme Hall, Tabley Old Hall, and Worden Hall.

The winter meetings, held in the Reading Room at Chetham's Hospital, have been well attended.

The following is a list of the papers, short communications, and addresses:—

1887.

Jan. 7.—Dr. H. Colley March. Some further Points of Interest about East-Lancashire Flints.

,, 7.—George Esdaile. Aldborough, Caerleon, Dorchester, and parts of Rome compared with Chester.

,, 7.—G. C. Yates, F.S.A. On an Indian Sacred Calumet, and Indian Wampum.

,, 7.—W. E. A. Axon. On Henry Ainsworth, the Puritan Divine.

Feb. 4.—Lieut.-Col. Fishwick, F.S.A. Quaker Lancashire Literature of the Seventeenth Century.

,, 4.—Dr. Renaud, F.S.A. A Short Analysis of the Genealogical Contents of a Bundle of Compoti and Court Rolls of the Manor of Church Lawton, Cheshire.

,, 4.—W. H. Bailey. On Woden's Cave.

Mar. 4.—C. T. Tallent-Bateman. On Emery Oldfield.

,, 4.—W. O. Roper. On the Inscription at Caton.

,, 4.—J. Holme Nicholson, M.A. On the Winwick Cross.

,, 4.—George Esdaile. The Plague Stone at Stretford.

Mar. 25.—Hy. Taylor. Lydiate Hall.
,, 25.—Dr. H. Colley March. Types of Sepulchral Urns.
,, 25.—J. S. Thornton. The First Edition of North's *Plutarch*.
April 1.—C. Collmann. Anthony Koberger, the *Liber Chronicarum*, and the 1480 Bible.
,, 1.—J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A. The High Legh Deeds.
,, 1.—C. T. Tallent-Bateman. The Ancient Lancashire and Cheshire Local Courts of Criminal and Special Jurisdiction.
,, 30.—G. C. Yates, F.S.A. Peover Hall and Churches.
May 21.—Alfred Burton. Bramhall Hall.
,, 21.—George Esdaile. ,,
June 2.—E. G. Bruton, F.S.A. The Antiquities of Oxford.
,, 2.—Arthur J. Evans, F.S.A. The Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum.
,, 3.—S. S. Stanley. Stoneleigh Abbey.
,, 3.—George Esdaile. John Wyclif.
,, 8.—Alderman W. H. Bailey. Manchester Relics at the Exhibition.
,, 8.—A. Nicholson. ,, ,,
July 30.—G. C. Yates, F.S.A. Tabley Old Hall.
Aug. 8.—Rev. W. H. Burns. Clayton Hall.
,, 8.—George Esdaile. The Chetham Plate.
,, 27.—J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A. Lyme Hall.
Sept. 9.—G. C. Yates. On Local Stone Implements.
,, 12.—Rev. Father Moyes. The Chantry Chapel on the Old Salford Bridge.
,, 12.—George Esdaile. Forgotten Scraps of Old Manchester and Salford.
Oct. 7.—Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S. Opening Address.
,, 7.—S. Andrew. A Local Chapter in the History of the Commonwealth.
,, 7.—Nathan Heywood. Lancashire and Cheshire Tokens of the Seventeenth Century.
,, 7.—R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A. On Lübeck.
Nov. 4.—S. Andrew. Ancient Crosses in Oldham.
,, 4.—George Esdaile. Were the Romans Acquainted with Ireland?
,, 4.—W. H. Heathcote. Recent Finds at Preston.
Dec. 2.—H. T. Crofton. Folk-Moots of Lancashire and Cheshire.
,, 2.—Rev. S. H. Parkes. The Astrologers in Lancashire and Cheshire.
,, 2.—W. S. Churchill. The Harkirke Find of Coins.
,, 16.—Professor A. W. Ward, M.A., LL.D. The Citadel of the German Knights.

A Conversazione was held on 16th December, at the Owens College, in a suite of rooms kindly placed at the disposal of the members by the college authorities. Professor A. W. Ward, Vice-Chancellor of the Victoria University, delivered an address, entitled "The Citadel of the German Knights," which was illustrated by views thrown on a screen by the oxy-hydrogen lantern. Many objects of antiquarian interest were exhibited in the college library.

The Treasurer's Statement shows the balance in hand to be £57. 6s. 4d., and, in addition, the Council have now an investment amounting to £200 in Manchester Corporation Stock.

The hearty thanks of the Society are due to the feoffees of Chetham's Hospital, for their kindness in granting the use of the charming old reading room in the Chetham Library for the winter meetings; to the authorities of the Owens College, for permitting the holding of the winter soirée in the college buildings; and to the committee of the Royal Jubilee Exhibition, for special facilities at the two meetings held in "Old Manchester and Salford."

Acknowledgments are also due, for courtesies and hospitality, to Charles Neville, Esq., Bramhall Hall; the Misses ffarington, of Worden Hall; and the Rev. W. H. Burns, Clayton Hall.

The Council again recognise the services rendered by Mr. Charles W. Sutton as editor of the *Transactions*, and the untiring zeal exhibited by Mr. George C. Yates in his work as honorary secretary.

The Council look with satisfaction on the work of the year; the summer meetings, if fewer than in previous years, have been no less interesting; while many valuable and interesting papers have been brought before the Society.

It only remains for the Council to recognise, with due appreciation, the services of the readers of papers, and to express the hope that each member will lend his hearty and willing aid in furthering the important objects of the Society.

W. A. COPINGER (HON. TREASURER) IN ACCOUNT WITH THE LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

Dr. *General Statement of Income and Expenditure from 1st January to December 31st, 1887.* **Cr.**

1887. Jan. 1st.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bankers	171	1	2
To 1 Subscription at 10s.	0	10	0
,, 208 Subscriptions at 10s. 6d.	109	4	0
,, 16 ,, (two years) at £1. 1s.	16	16	0
,, 10 ,, and Entrance Fees at £1. 11s. 6d.	15	15	0
,, 4 Life Members at £5. 5s.	21	0	0
,, 1 Life Member at £7. 7s.	7	7	0
,, 1 ,, and Entrance Fee at £8. 8s.	8	8	0
,, 3 Subscriptions paid through Bankers	1	11	6
	180	11	6
,, Interest on £200 invested with the Manchester Corporation, at 3½ per cent	4	17	11
,, Interest allowed by Bankers	2	5	0
	£358	15	7

1887. Dec. 31st.	£	s.	d.
By Investment	100	0	0
,, General Printing and Stationery	12	4	5
,, A. Ireland and Co., Printing Society's Annual Volume, *Transactions and Proceedings*, volume iv.	148	8	6
,, Summer Excursions, and other Incidental Expenses and Sundries	9	10	0
,, Reporters	1	10	0
,, Postages, etc.	14	14	9
,, Clerical Help	5	5	0
,, Collectors' Commission	3	9	5
,, Charles Winstanley—To Books for Collection of Local Engravings and Prints	6	0	0
,, Bankers' Commission	0	7	2
,, Balance at Bankers	57	6	4
	£358	15	7

	£	s.	d.
Invested with the Manch. Corpora. £200 at 3½ per cent	200	0	0
Balance at Bankers	57	6	4
	£257	6	4

Audited and found correct,

WM. HARRISON,
T. CANN HUGHES, } *Auditors.*

January 16th, 1888.

RULES.

(Revised January 28th, 1887.)

1. PREAMBLE.—This Society is instituted to examine, preserve, and illustrate ancient Monuments and Records, and to promote the study of History, Literature, Arts, Customs, and Traditions with particular reference to the antiquities of Lancashire and Cheshire.

2. NAME, &c.—This Society shall be called the "LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

3. ELECTION OF MEMBERS.—Candidates for admission to the Society must be proposed by one member of the Society, and seconded by another. Applications for admission must be submitted in writing to the Council, who shall report to the next ordinary meeting the names of such candidates. At the next ordinary meeting thereafter following, the names of all the candidates so reported shall be put to the meeting for election as the first business following the reading and confirmation, or otherwise, of the minutes of the preceding meeting, and the election shall be determined by common assent or dissent, unless a ballot shall be called for in the case of any one or more of the candidates by any member then present. In case of ballot one black ball in five shall exclude. During the period of the year when the ordinary meetings are suspended, the Council shall have power to invite to general meetings any candidate whom they have resolved to recommend for election at the next ordinary meeting. Each new member shall have his election notified to him by the Honorary Secretary, and shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of the Rules, and be required to remit to the Treasurer, within two months after such notification, his entrance fee and subscription;

and if the same shall be thereafter unpaid for more than two months, his name may be struck off the list of members unless he can justify the delay to the satisfaction of the Council. No new member shall participate in any of the advantages of the Society until he has paid his entrance fee and subscription. Each member shall be entitled to admission to all meetings of the Society, and to introduce a visitor, provided that the same person be not introduced to two ordinary or general meetings in the same year. Each member shall receive, free of charge, such ordinary publications of the Society as shall have been issued since the commencement of the year in which he shall have been elected, provided that he shall have paid all subscriptions then due from him. The Council shall have power to remove any name from the list of members on due cause being shown to them. Members wishing to resign at the termination of the year can do so by informing the Honorary Secretary, in writing, of their intention on or before the 30th day of November, in that year.

4. HONORARY MEMBERS.—The Council shall have the power of recommending persons for election as honorary members.

5. HONORARY LOCAL SECRETARIES.—The Council shall have power to appoint any person Honorary Local Secretary, whether he be a member or not, for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest.

6. SUBSCRIPTIONS.—An annual subscription of ten shillings and sixpence shall be paid by each member. All such subscriptions shall be due in advance on the first day of January.

7. ENTRANCE FEE.—Each person on election shall pay an entrance fee of one guinea in addition to his first year's subscription.

8. LIFE MEMBERSHIP.—A payment of seven guineas shall constitute the composition for life membership, including the entrance fee.

9. GOVERNMENT.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of the President of the Society, two Vice-Presidents, in addition to the Past-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary, and Treasurer, and fifteen members elected out of the general body of the members. The Council shall retire annually, but the members of it shall be eligible for re-election. Any intermediate vacancy by death or retirement may

be filled up by the Council. Four members of the Council to constitute a quorum. The Council shall meet at least four times yearly. A meeting may at any time be convened by the Honorary Secretary by direction of the President, or on the requisition of four members of the Council. Two Auditors shall be appointed by the members at the ordinary meeting next preceding the final meeting of the Session.

10. MODE OF ELECTING OFFICERS OTHER THAN THE AUDITORS.—The Council shall in each year prepare a list of a sufficient number of members to fill the several offices becoming vacant at the close of the year. Any member desiring to nominate a member or members for election to any office in the Society, other than that of Auditor, shall send in the name or names of such persons, with their addresses, to the Honorary Secretary, in writing, not less than twenty-one days before the date of the annual meeting, such document being signed by himself as proposer and one other member as seconder. The Honorary Secretary shall send by post to every member whose address is known to him, not later than fourteen days before the meeting, an alphabetical list of all persons so nominated, including those nominated by the Council, with their addresses, and the names and addresses of their proposers and seconders, except those nominated by the Council, which shall be distinguished by an asterisk following their names. The election of officers shall take place at the annual meeting. In case of contest the election shall be by ballot.

11. RETIRING PRESIDENT.—Each retiring President shall retain his seat on the Council, and become a Vice-President.

12. DUTIES OF OFFICERS.—The duty of the President shall be to preside at the meetings of the Society, and to maintain order. His decision in all questions of precedence amongst speakers, and on all disputes which may arise during the meeting, to be absolute. In the absence of the President or Vice-Presidents, it shall be competent for the members present to elect a chairman. The Treasurer shall take charge of all moneys belonging to the Society, pay all accounts passed by the Council, and submit his accounts and books, duly audited, to the annual meeting, the same having been submitted to the meeting of the Council immediately preceding such annual meeting. The duties of the

Honorary Secretary shall be to attend all meetings of the Council and Society, enter in detail, as far as practicable, the proceedings at each meeting, to conduct the correspondence, preserve all letters received, and convene all meetings by circular, if requisite. He shall also prepare and present to the Council a report of the year's work, and, after confirmation by the Council, shall read the same to the members at the annual meeting.

13. ANNUAL MEETING.—The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in the last week of January.

14. ORDINARY MEETINGS.—Ordinary meetings shall be held in Manchester, at 6-15 p.m., on the *first Friday* of each month from *October* to *April* for the reading of papers, the exhibition of objects of antiquity, and the discussion of subjects connected therewith.

15. GENERAL MEETINGS.—The Council may, from time to time, convene general meetings at different places rendered interesting by their antiquities, architecture, or historic associations. The work of these meetings shall include papers, addresses, exhibitions, excavations, and any other practicable means shall be adopted for the elucidation of the history and antiquities of the locality visited.

16.—EXPLORATION AND EXCAVATION.—The Council may, from time to time, make grants of money towards the cost of excavating and exploring, and for the general objects of the Society.

17. PUBLICATIONS.—Original papers and ancient documents communicated to the Society may be published in such manner as the Council shall from time to time determine. Back volumes of the Transactions and other publications of the Society remaining in stock may be purchased by any member of the Society at such prices as the Council shall determine.

18. PROPERTY.—The property of the Society shall be vested in the names of three Trustees to be chosen by the Council.

19. INTERPRETATION CLAUSE.—In these Rules the masculine shall include the feminine gender.

20. ALTERATION OF RULES.—These rules shall not be altered except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting at the annual or at a special meeting convened for that purpose. Fourteen days' notice of such intended alteration is to be given to every member of the Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The * denotes a Life Member.
The † denotes an Honorary Member.

Date of Election.	
September 4th, 1883.	Adshead, G. H., Fern Villas, Pendleton.
March 21st, 1883.	Agnew, W., J.P., Summer Hill, Pendleton.
July 26th, 1884.	Ainsworth, R. H., J.P., Smithills Hall, Bolton-le-Moors.
September 4th, 1883.	Andrew, Frank, J.P., Chester Square, Ashton-under-Lyne.
June 11th, 1886.	Andrew, J. D., Town Hall, Ardwick.
September 4th, 1883.	Andrew, Samuel, St. John's Terrace, Hey Lees, Oldham.
March 21st, 1883.	Andrew, Walter J., Moss Side, Ashton-under-Lyne.
July 25th, 1885.	Andrew, James Lawton, M.D., Mossley.
July 25th, 1885.	Andrew, James, The Avenue, Patricroft.
March 21st, 1883.	Anson, Ven. Archdeacon G. H. G., M.A., Birch Rectory, Rusholme.
March 21st, 1883.	Armitage, Benjamin, J.P., Halton Bank, Pendleton.
October 8th, 1886.	Arning, Charles, jun., Fern Lea, 199, Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883.	Arnold, W. T., M.A., 226, Plymouth Grove, Manchester.
September 28th, 1883.	Ashby, Henry, M.D., M.R.C.S., 13, St. John Street, Manchester.
April 15th, 1885.	*Ashworth, Edmund, J.P., Egerton Hall, Bolton-le-Moors.
December 4th, 1885.	Ashworth, Joseph, Albion Place, Walmersley Road, Bury.
April 14th, 1885.	Atkinson, Rev. Canon, B.D., Bolton.
November 5th, 1886.	Attkins, Edgar, Princess Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Axon, W. E. A., M.R.S.L., Murray Street, Higher Broughton.

March 5th, 1886. Bagshaw, Thomas, Eccles New Road, Salford.
March 21st, 1883. Bailey, John Eglington, F.S.A., Egerton Villa, Stretford.
June 13th, 1885. Bailey, Mrs. John E., Egerton Villa, Stretford.
March 21st, 1883. *Bailey, Alderman W. H., Summerfield, Eccles New Road, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Baillie, Edmund J., F.L.S., Woodbine, Eaton Road, Chester.
June 10th, 1886. Ball, Thomas, Eccles.
September 4th, 1883. Bannister, John, 44, Broadway, Salford.
January 11th, 1884. Barlow, John Robert, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton.
June 17th, 1884. Barlow, Miss, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton-le-Moors.
June 13th, 1885. Barlow, Miss Annie E. F., Greenthorne, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883. Barraclough, Thomas, 8, King Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Bateman, C. T. Tallent, Cromwell Road, Stretford.
April 14th, 1885. Baugh, Joseph, Edendale, Whalley Range.
January 7th, 1887. Baugh, Mrs., Edendale, Whalley Range.
January 7th, 1887. Bayley, Rev. C. J., M.A., Heaton Norris.
July 30th, 1885. Bayley, Charles W., 5, Polygon, Eccles.
June 26th, 1883. Baynton, Alfred, Gilda Brook Park, Eccles.
January 29th, 1885. Berry, Charles F., 153, Moss Lane East, Moss Side.
December 7th, 1883. Berry, James, 153, Moss Lane East, Moss Side.
July 31st, 1886. Booth, James, New Lane, Patricroft.
September 4th, 1883. Bowden, William, Gorsefield, Patricroft.
September 4th, 1883. Bradbury, John, F.R.S.L., 2, St. James' Place, Old Trafford.
June 26th, 1883. Bradsell, B. J. T., 12, Oswald Street, Hulme.
March 21st, 1883. Bridgen, Thomas Edward, Oaklynne, Fallowfield.
November 5th, 1886. Brimelow, Wm., 153, Park Road, Bolton.
May 7th, 1885. *Brockholes, W. Fitzherbert, J.P., Claughton Hall, Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang.
October 7th, 1887. Brooke, Alexander, Muswell Hill Road, Highgate.
September 28th, 1883. Brooke, John, A.R.I.B.A., 18, Exchange Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Brooks, Sir William Cunliffe, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., Barlow Hall, Manchester.
March 5th, 1886. Buckley, George F., Linfitts House, Delph, Oldham.
May 22nd, 1886. Bulkeley, E. W., F.R.H.S., Sumner Field, Didsbury.
March 21st, 1883. Burton, Alfred, Ack Lane, Cheadle Hulme.
March 21st, 1883. Burton, William E., 162, Bury New Road, Manchester.
October 8th, 1886. Bury, Judson S., M.D., Cheshire View, Pendleton.
December 2nd, 1887. *Butcher, S. F., Bury.

March 21st, 1883. Carington, H. H. Smith, Brookfield House, Whaley Bridge.
May 2nd, 1885. Carr, William, The Hollies, Newton Heath.

October 8th, 1886. *Chesson, Rev. William H., Folly Lane, Swinton.
March 21st, 1883. Christie, Richard Copley, M.A., Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester, Glenwood, Virginia Water, Staines.
March 21st, 1883. Churchill, W. S., 24, Birch Lane, Manchester.
June 11th, 1886. Clarke, Dr. W. H., Park Green, Macclesfield.
September 4th, 1883. Colley, A. H. Davis, A.R.I.B.A., 48, King Street, Manchester.
December 3rd, 1886. *Collier, Edward, 74, Yarburgh Street, Moss Side.
December 4th, 1885. Collinson, F. J., 5, St. James' Square, Manchester.
January 11th, 1884. Collmann, Charles, Elmhurst, Ellesmere Park, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Copinger, W. A., F.S.A., The Priory, Manchester.
November 7th, 1884. Cowell, P., Free Library, Liverpool.
January 7th, 1887. Cox, George F., 26, Cathedral Yard, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. †Crawford and Balcarres, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., Haigh Hall, Wigan.
March 21st, 1883. Creeke, Major A. B., Monkholme, Burnley.
March 21st, 1883. Crofton, Rev. Addison, M.A., The Parsonage, Reddish Green, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883. Crofton, H. T., 86, Brazennose Street, Manchester.
October 8th, 1886. *Crompton, Alfred, jun., Dunsters, Bury.
March 21st, 1883. Croston, James, F.S.A., Upton Hall, Prestbury.
March 21st, 1883. Crowther, Joseph S., Endsleigh, Alderley Edge.
October 7th, 1887. Curnick, H. D., Thornton Villas, Victoria Crescent, Eccles.

March 21st, 1883. Darbishire, R. D., B.A., F.S.A., 26, George Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Darbyshire, Alfred, F.R.I.B.A., Brazennose Street, Manchester.
September 28th, 1883. *Dauntesey, Robert, Agecroft Hall, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Dawkins, Professor William Boyd, F.R.S., F.S.A., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883. Dawkins, Mrs., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.
November 2nd, 1883. Dearden, J. Griffith, Wytham-on-the-Hill, Bourne.
March 21st, 1883. *Derby, Right Hon. the Earl of, D.C.L., F.R.S., Knowsley, Prescot.
April 1st, 1887. De Trafford, Sir Humphrey, Bart., Trafford Park, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. *Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London.
May 4th, 1883. Doody, C. C., Cannon Street, Manchester.
January 15th, 1886. Duncan, James, M.B., Ashton-under-Lyne.

March 21st, 1883. Earwaker, J. P., M.A., F.S.A., Pensarn, Abergele.
October 8th, 1886. *Eastwood, J. A., Princess Street, Manchester.

January 29th, 1885.	Ecroyd, William, Spring Cottage, Burnley.
March 21st, 1883.	Egerton, Hon. Algernon, Worsley Old Hall, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	*Egerton, Right Hon. the Lord, F.S.A., Tatton Park, Knutsford.
June 11th, 1886.	*Ermen, Henry E., Rose Bank, Bolton Road, Pendleton.
March 21st, 1883.	Esdaile, George, Rivington View, Stretford.
March 21st, 1883.	*Evans, John, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.
March 21st, 1883.	*Evans, Joseph, Hurst House, Prescot.
May 4th, 1883.	Faithwaite, J. R., Manchester and Salford Bank Limited.
March 21st, 1883.	ffarington, Miss, Worden, Preston.
March 21st, 1883.	Faulder, W. Wareing, Ellerslie, Cheetham Hill.
December 5th, 1884.	Finney, James, Solicitor, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883.	Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A., The Height, Rochdale.
October 8th, 1886.	Fletcher, Dr. Richard, Gt. Clowes Street, Broughton.
March 31st, 1885.	*Foljambe, Cecil G. Saville, M.P., F.S.A., Cockglode, Ollerton, Newark.
July 31st, 1886.	Freeman, R. Knill, East View, Haulgh, Bolton.
February 6th, 1885.	French, Gilbert J., Belmont Road, Sharples, Bolton.
June 13th, 1885.	French, Mrs., Belmont Road, Sharples, Bolton.
June 13th, 1885.	French, Miss K., Newport Square, Bolton.
December 9th, 1886.	*Frost, Robert, B.Sc., Bright Side, Altrincham.
May 4, 1883.	Gadd, Very Rev. Monsignor, St. Bede's College, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Gill, Richard, *Examiner* Office, Manchester.
December 2nd, 1887.	Gillebrand, Dr., Bolton.
March 21st, 1883.	Gillespie, Rev. Charles G. K., 39, Hall Street, Stockport.
December 7th, 1883.	Goldschmidt, Philip, Oldenburg House, Rusholme.
May 4th, 1883.	Goodyear, Charles, 39, Lincroft Street, Moss Side.
May 7th, 1885.	Gradwell, Very Rev. Mgr., Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang.
March 21st, 1883.	Grafton, F. W., M.P., Hope Hall, Manchester.
February 6th, 1885.	Grafton, Francis, Hope Hall, Manchester.
January 11th, 1884.	Grafton, Miss, Hope Hall, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Gratrix, Samuel, West Point, Whalley Range.
January 11th, 1884.	Gray, Henry, 47, Leicester Square, London.
September 18th, 1885.	Greenhough, R., jun., Church Street, Leigh.
March 21st, 1883.	Greenwood, J. G., LL.D., The Owens College, Manchester.
April 2nd, 1886.	*Grimshaw, William, Sale.

July 25th, 1885. *Guest, William H., 57, King Street, Manchester.
June 11th, 1886. Güterbock, Alfred, Newington, Bowdon.

March 21st, 1883. Hadfield, E., Harroll Terrace, Swinton.
November 7th, 1884. Hall, James, 79, Fountain Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Hall, Major G. W., Marlborough Square, Salford.
October 9th, 1885. Hampson, Francis, Platt Cottage, Rusholme.
October 8th, 1886. Hand, Thomas W., Free Library, Oldham.
March 21st, 1883. Hardwick, Charles, 72, Talbot Street, Moss Side.
February 6th, 1885. Harrison, William, 84, Shakspere Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. *Hartington, Right Hon. the Marquis of, M.P., Devonshire House, London.
March 21st, 1883. Haworth, S. E., Worsley Road, Swinton.
December 7th, 1883. Heape, Joseph R., 96, Tweedale Street, Rochdale.
June 13th, 1885. Heape, Charles, Glebe House, Rochdale.
March 21st, 1883. Hearle, Rev. G. W., M.A., Newburgh, Wigan.
March 31st, 1885. Heathcote, Wm. Hy., East View, Preston.
May 4th, 1883. Heginbotham, Henry, J.P., Stockport.
June 11th, 1886. Herford, Rev. P. M., M.A., Gatley Vicarage, Cheadle.
September 4th, 1883. Hewitson, Anthony, *Chronicle* Office, Preston.
March 21st, 1883. Heywood, Nathan, 3, Mount Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Heywood, Oliver, J.P., Claremont, Manchester.
May 21st, 1883. Hirst, John, J.P., F.R.M.S., Lad Castle, Dobcross, Saddleworth. (Deceased.)
June 17th, 1884. Hodgson, Edwin, 344, Queen's Road, Cheetham.
October 8th, 1886. Holden, Arthur T., Waterfoot, Heaton, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883. Holden, Thomas, Springfield, Bolton. (Deceased.)
January 11th, 1884. *Houldsworth, Sir W. H., M.P., Norbury Booths Hall, Knutsford.
March 7th, 1884. Howorth, Daniel F., F.S.A. Scot., Stamford Terrace, Ashton-under-Lyne.
March 21st, 1883. Howorth, Henry H., M.P., F.S.A., Bentcliffe, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Hughes, Charles, Cheetwood House, Manchester.
March 4th, 1887. Hughes, T. Cann., B.A., 14, George Street, Moss Side.
December 2nd, 1887. Hulton, Rev. F. R. C., 28, Chorley New Road, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883. Hulton, W. W. B., J.P., Hulton Park, Bolton.

June 11th, 1886. Ives, Miss, 77, Adswood Lane, Stockport.

November 5th, 1886. Jackson, Miss E. S., Burnside, Calder Vale, Garstang.
May 4th, 1883. Jackson, S., Burnside, Calder Vale, Garstang.
December 3rd, 1886. Jones, Rev. Harry Thompson, M.A., St. Stephen's Rectory, Salford.
September 28th, 1883. Johnson, J. H., F.G.S., 73, Albert Road, Southport.
January 21st, 1886. Johnson, Mrs., 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side.
May 2nd, 1885. *Johnson, William, 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side.

March 4th, 1887. Johnstone, Rev. Thomas Boston, M.A., 116, Chorley New Road, Bolton.
September 28th, 1883. Jordan, Thomas L., M.R.C.S., 14, Lorne Road, Fallowfield.

May 2nd, 1885. Kay, James, Lark Hill, Timperley.
March 21st, 1883. Kay, J. Taylor, South View, Platt Lane, Rusholme.
June 11th, 1886. *Kay, Thomas, J.P., Hillgate, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883. Kirkman, William Wright, 8, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

March 21st, 1883. Langton, Robert, F.R.H.S., Albert Chambers, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. *Lathom, Right Hon. the Earl of, 41, Portland Place, W.
March 21st, 1883. *Lawton, Josh. F., J.P., Marle House, Micklehurst, Mossley.
July 18th, 1885. *Lawton, Mrs., Stamford Villa, Altrincham.
June 11th, 1886. Lawton, J. E. P., Marle House, Micklehurst, Mossley.
March 21st, 1883. Leech, Professor D. J., M.D., F.R.C.P., Elm House, Whalley Range.
March 21st, 1883. Leech, Mrs., Elm House, Whalley Range.
December 7th, 1883. Leech, Miss M. L., Reede House, Flixton.
May 4th, 1883. Lees, William, Egerton Villa, Heywood.
December 4th, 1885. Letherbrow, Thomas, Lyme View, Norbury Moor, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883. Letts, Rev. E. F., M.A., The Rectory, Newton Heath.
June 11th, 1886. *Lever, Ellis, Culcheth Hall, Bowdon.
March 21st, 1883. *Lister, Charles, J.P., Agden Hall, Lymm.
March 21st, 1883. Lord, H., 42, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Lowe, John, F.R.I.B.A., 22, Mansfield Chambers, St. Ann's Square, Manchester.
September 4th, 1883. *Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., 15, Lombard Street, London.
November 7th, 1884. Lynam, C., F.R.I.B.A., Stoke-upon-Trent.

August 15th, 1885. *Makinson, W. G., Montrose Villa, Ashton-on-Ribble.
October 7th, 1887. Manners, Thos. Hy., Cedar Villas, Mauldeth Road, Heaton Mersey.
March 21st, 1883. March, H. Colley, M.D., 2, West Street, Rochdale.
May 20th, 1885. March, Mrs., 2, West Street, Rochdale.
March 21st, 1883. Martin, William Young, M.D., The Limes, Walkden, Bolton.
July 31st, 1886. Martin, Mrs., The Limes, Walkden.
November 5th, 1886. Massey, Arthur W., 27, Ackers Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock.

November 18th, 1884. Miller, William Pitt, Merlewood, Grange-over-Sands.
March 21st, 1883. Milner, George, 59A, Mosley Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Moorhouse, Frederick, Kingston Mount, Didsbury.
March 21st, 1883. Morris, Claude J., The Mount, Altrincham.
October 7th, 1887. Morton, Miss Mary, 9, Stanley Terrace, Stamford Street, Old Trafford.
October 7th, 1887. Morton, Miss Martha, 9, Stanley Terrace, Stamford Street, Old Trafford.

March 21st, 1883. Newton, Miss, Holly House, Flixton.
October 7th, 1887. *Nevill, Charles, Bramhall Hall, Stockport.
June 26th, 1883. Newton, C. E., Roebuck Lane, Brooklands.
September 4th, 1883. Nicholson, Albert, 62, Fountain Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Nicholson, J. Holme, M.A., Carill Drive, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883. Norbury, William, Morley Cottage, Leigh.

July 26th, 1884. Oakley, Frank, The Deanery, Manchester.
May 20th, 1885. Odgers, Rev. J. Edwin, M.A., Horton, Bowdon.
May 22nd, 1886. Odgers, Mrs., Horton, Bowdon.
April 16th, 1886. †Owen, John, Kennedy Grave Lane, Davenport, Stockport.
April 2nd, 1886. *Owen, Major-General C. H., R.A., Alton Lodge, Hartley Wintney, Winchfield, Hants.
March 21st, 1883. Oxley, H. M., 97, Bridge Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Oxley, Thomas, Helme House, Ellesmere Park, Eccles.

July 26th, 1884. Paley, E. G., F.R.I.B.A., Lancaster.
May 22nd, 1886. Parkes, Rev. S. H., B.A., F.R.A.S., Swinton.
December 7th, 1883. Parkinson, Richard, Barr Hill, Pendleton.
February 5th, 1886. Pattinson, J. P., M.A., 11A, Piccadilly.
October 8th, 1886. *Peace, Maskell Wm., 18, King Street, Wigan.
March 21st, 1883. Pearson, George, Southside, Wilmslow.
October 8th, 1886. Pearson, Henry, Union Bank, Salford.
September 4th, 1883. *Pearson, Thomas, Golborne Park, Newton-le-Willows.
May 4th, 1883. Peel, Robert, Fulshaw Avenue, Wilmslow.
October 8th, 1886. Pike, C. F., Bella Vista, Lostock Road, Urmston.
September 4th, 1883. Pilkington, Alfred, Oakwood, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Pocklington, Rev. J. N., St. Michael's Rectory, Hulme.
July 25th, 1885. Posnett, W. A., Park View, Chorley, Lancashire.
March 5th, 1886. Potter, Robert Cecil, Heald Grove, Rusholme.
October 7th, 1887. Pullinger, William, Queen's Road, Oldham.

April 2nd, 1886. Radford, W. Harold, The Haven, Whalley Range.
April 14th, 1885. Redhead, R. Milne, F.L.S., Holden Clough, Bolton-by-Bowland, Clitheroe.
October 17th, 1884. Reid, David, Bowerbank, Bowdon.

March 21st, 1883.	Renaud, Frank, M.D., F.S.A., Hillside, Alderley Edge.
May 4th, 1883.	Reynolds, Rev. G. W., M.A., St. Mark's Rectory, Cheetham Hill.
March 21st, 1883.	*Ridehalgh, Lieut.-Col., J.P., Fell Foot, Newby Bridge.
December 7th, 1883.	Rigge, George Wilson, Police Street, Manchester.
September 29th, 1884.	Rimmer, John H., M.A., LL.M., Madeley, Newcastle, Staff.
June 11th, 1886.	Robertson, John, Stoneleigh, Lees, Oldham.
December 22nd, 1884.	Robinow, Max, Hawthornden House, Palatine Road, Didsbury.
September 4th, 1883.	Robinson, John, 56, Church Street, Eccles.
May 2nd, 1885.	*Robinson, J. B., F.R.M.S., Devonshire House, Mossley.
February 4th, 1887.	Roeder, Charles, Emsee Cottage, Amhurst Street, Derby Road, Fallowfield.
July 26th, 1884.	*Roper, W. O. Lancaster.
May 4th, 1883.	Rowbotham, G. H., Manchester and Salford Bank Limited.
April 22nd, 1884.	Rudd, John, Sale Road, Northenden.
March 21st, 1883.	Russell, Rev. E. J., M.A., Todmorden.
March 21st, 1883.	*Rylands, Thomas G., F.S.A., Highfield, Thelwall, Warrington.
May 4th, 1883.	Sales, Henry H., 68, Greame Street, Whalley Range.
May 4th, 1883.	Sandbach, J. E., Stoodley Hall, Eastwood, Todmorden.
December 7th, 1883.	Scholes, James C., 46, Newport Street, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883.	Schou, Nicolai C., 40, South King Street, Manchester.
April 14th, 1885.	*Schwabe, Charles, Glenthorne, Whalley Range.
October 9th, 1885.	Scott, E. D., Greenbank, Ashton-upon-Mersey.
June 26th, 1883.	Scott, Fred, 100, King Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Shaw, Giles, 72, Manchester Street, Oldham.
November 7th, 1884.	Shaw, James, 95, Brookshaw Terrace, Walmersley Road, Bury.
November 18th, 1884.	Sherriff, Herbert, Dean's Villa, Swinton.
June 26th, 1883.	Shuttleworth, John, Withington.
March 21st, 1883.	Smith, C. C., Birchfield, Swinton.
January 11th, 1884.	†Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Temple Place, Strood, Kent.
March 7th, 1884.	Smith, David, J.P., 33, Brighton Grove, Rusholme.
May 22nd, 1886.	Smith, Fredk. Ford, Lime Grove, Brooklands.
March 21st, 1883.	Smith, J. J., B.A., Heywood.
October 8th, 1886.	Smith, Thomas E., 189, St. George's Road, Bolton.
June 11th, 1886.	Smith, William Ford, Woodstock, Didsbury.
October 7th, 1887.	Smith, William, M.D., Eccles.

October 7th, 1887. Southam, George Armitage, Oakfield, Pendleton.
November 18th, 1884. Standen, Robert, Industrial Schools, Swinton.
March 21st, 1883. Standring, Alfred, LL.M., M.A., Beech House, Knutsford.
March 21st, 1883. Stanning, Rev. J. H., M.A., Leigh Vicarage, Lancashire.
June 26th, 1883. Steinthal, E. F. L., 81, Nelson Street, Manchester.
October 9th, 1885. Stephenson, D., Fulshaw Lodge, Wilmslow.
June 26th, 1883. Stern, Miss, Wynthrop, Ashton-on-Mersey.
July 26th, 1884. *Storey, Herbert L., Lancaster.
March 21st, 1883. Sutton, Charles W., 14, Park View, Chorlton Road, Manchester.
October 17th, 1884. Sutton, Richard H., 26, Princess Street, Manchester.
May 4th, 1883. Swindells, John, 38, Faulkner Street, Manchester.

April 2nd, 1886. *Tatham, Leonard, M.A., 26, George Street, Manchester.
November 7th, 1884. Taylor, Alexander, 14, Tenterden, Bury.
March 21st, 1883. Taylor, Henry, Braeside, Tunbridge Wells.
January 7th, 1887. *Taylor, James, Oak Leigh, Worsley Road, Swinton.
October 8th, 1886. Taylor, J. R., Sandheys, Ashton-on-Mersey.
March 21st, 1883. Taylor, Joshua, 277, Moorside, Droylsden.
September 4th, 1883. Thornton, J. S., B.A., Victoria Park School, Manchester.
May 4th, 1883. Thorp, J. Walter H., Jordan Gate House, Macclesfield.
November 5th, 1886. †Tinkler, J. E., Chetham's Library, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Tonge, Rev. Canon Richard, M.A., Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
March 21st, 1883. Toole, Very Rev. Canon Lawrence, D.D., St. Wilfrid's, Manchester.
June 30th, 1885. *Trappes, Charles, J. B., J.P., Nidd Lodge, Higher Broughton.
October 8th, 1886. *Tristram, Wm. H., Darcy Lever Hall, Bolton.
February 5th, 1886. Turner, William, Westlands, Plymouth Grove.

July 31st, 1886. Underdown, H. W., North Leigh, Whalley Range.

October 8th, 1886. Virgo, Charles G., Queen's Park, Manchester.

December 7th, 1883. Waddington, Wm. Angelo, Carlton Road, Burnley.
June 13th, 1885. Wadsworth, Christopher, Eccles.
July 31st, 1886. Wales, George Carew, Hill Top Farm, Wilmslow.
March 21st, 1883. Walter, William, M.A., M.D., 20, St. John Street, Manchester.
November 6th, 1885. Warburton, W. Daulby, M.A., 83, Bignor Street, Cheetham.

May 4th, 1883.	Ward, Prof. A. W., M.A., LL.D., The Owens College.
March 21st, 1883.	Ward, James, Leigh.
June 11th, 1886.	*Waters, Edwin H., Green Bank, Langham Road, Bowdon.
March 21st, 1883.	Watkin, W. Thompson, 242, West Derby Road, Liverpool.
July 31st, 1886.	Watson, W. Alfred, 18, George Street, Moss Lane East, Moss Side.
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INDEX.

Abovetheway Richard 270
Abraham John 82
Abraham Joshua 91
Abram W. A. 73 *n. seq.*
"Abyttmon" 24
Acre Siege of 199 *seq.*
Acres Field 140
Adel Stones 7
Adelbert Saint 204
"Affeerors" 22
Agecroft Hall 250
Ainsworth Henry 287
Albert of Brandenburg-Anspach 217
Alcocke Thomas 70 77 82
Aldborough Roman 288
Aldingham 127
Aldport 132 133
Ale Assize of 35
Alfred Coins of 221 224 225
Allanson Thomas 76
Allen Romilly 3 8
Alpraham 263
Altrincham Court Leet 124
Alvenemere 251 253
Amber 203
Anderne Henry 102
Andrew I. of Hungary 202
Andrew Samuel 337 345
Andrews John 69 70 102
Angier John 81
Animals represented on Ancient Stones 16
Annual Meeting 291
Anson Sir W. 303
Antrobus Philip 71 99 100
Applebee Thomas 67
Archery Butts 31 34 41
Arden N. de 139
Arderne William 45
Ardwick 136
Artle Beck 256
Aryans 272
Ashmole Elias 263
Ashton Arthur 76
Ashton John de 138
Ashton-on-Mersey 264 265
Ashton-under-Lyne 136 138 236
Ashton-under-Lyne Tokens 73
Assheton Sir Randle 264
Asston Thomas de 251
Astrologers Lancashire 348
Atherton Peter 81
Atherton Richard 340
Atkinson Thomas 112 113
Audlem Tokens 94
Audsley Lordship 42
"Aulneger" 266 267
Axon Ernest 287
Axon W. E. A. 250 287 311 346

B—— George 71
Baggiley William 43
Bagnall Thomas 43
Bailey J. E. 83 *n. seq.*
Bailey Thomas 327
Bailey W. H. 292 307
Baker H. on a Preston Medal 295
Baker Thomas 67 95
Bakewell Stones 9
Baldwin Rev. T. R. 337
Banks Gerard 68 93
Barbarossa 199
Bardeslaye George 73
Barlow 136
Barlow Gilbert 93

Barlow Henry 83
Barlow Cross 141 142 268
Barnes John 91
Barrington William 43
Barrow Gilbert 69
Barton-on-Irwell 136 266
Barton Park 269
Bassnett Nathaniel 95
Bateman C. T. T. 85 *n.* 117 293 298, on Local Courts 231
Bayles = Balls 35
Bayley William 41
Baynton A. 350
Beamont W. 30
Beard James 83
Beard Nathaniel 69 101
Beardsley Dr. 327
Bedford-upon-Turege 176
Beech John 33
Beech Thomas 44
Beggars 39
Bells Leyland Church 338
Bennett George 81
Bennett Sarah 95
Bentley Jennet 74
Berengarius Coin of 222 229
Berge James 25 26
Berry John 87
Beswick 136
Bickerton Richard 101
"Billingsgate" 112
Bindloss Sir R. 114
Birch Samuel 269
Birch William 25
Birch-in-Rusholme 136
Birchall Robert 94
Birchall Thomas 94
Birstall co. York 266
Blackburn Tokens 73
"Blacke lake" 265
Blackley 136
Blackmore Museum 330
Blakey Alice 77
Blakey John 77
"Blakhouriding" 251 253
Bland Alice 315
Blome Bartholomew 216
Blond Roger 63
"Bloodwipe" 27 43
Blundell William 219 *seq.*
Blundeville Randle 264
Boardman William 68 78
Boats Ancient 344
Bold Grace 340
Bold Mary d. of Charles 263
Bolton 143 144
Bolton Museum 329
Bolton Sculptured Stones 11 12
Bolton Siege 80
Bolton Tokens 74
Bolton Giles 73
Bolton James 67 68 73
Bolton John 73
Bolton Joseph 68 70, and family 87
Booker John 350
Booth Anne d. of John 268 269
Booth George and family 83
Booth Humphrey 268
Booth John 168
Booth Lawrence 168
Booth Margaret d. of John 269
Booth Ralph 168
Booth Thomas del 168 169 170 176
Booth family 269
"Booths" in Manchester 131
"Borough" 122
Borough Courts 234
Borron Edward 67 and family 91
Borwick Chapel 114
Bothe *see* Booth
Boundary Walking 40
Bowker William 83 84
Bowyer Jonah 102
Boyne William 72
Bracebridge Sir Geoffrey 139
Bradford 136
Bradshaw G. 309
Bradshaw Judge 318
Bradshaw Margaret d. of John 341
Bramhall Hall 300
Bramhall Token 94
Bredleighe 33
Brereton Margaret 80
Brereton Roger 70 95
Brereton Sir Thomas 265
Brereton Sir William 24
Brett of Davenham 52
Bridges Chapels on 93
Brigantes 161
Bright Canon 302
Brindle 138
Brindle James 71 73
Briscoe Richard 68 95
Britain Roman 153
Broad Edward 67
Brockholes J. F. 327
Broderick G. C. 303
Brokes Le 136
Bromhall Thomas 101
Brompton Stones 3
Bromyhurst 136
Broodlees 35

Bgook Edward 43
Brook John 103
Brookes Joshua 309
Broughton 136
Broughton Cinerary Urn 297
Browne Egerton 47
Browne G. F. 333 345, on Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones 1
Browne John of Bramhall 94 308
Brownsword William 113
Bruton E. G. 302
Bryans Rev. F. R. 299
Bucklow 123
Buddens Greene 30
Bulkeley Arthur 132
Burford Baron of 261
Burleymen 22 *seq.* 124 130 131
Burnage 136
Burnell Adam de 138
Burnell Robert 145
Burnell = Brindle 138
Burnley Crosses 12 13
Burnley Lad-Law Stones 126
Burnley Token 75
Burns Rev. W. H. 327, on Clayton Hall 314
Burroughs Ralph and Randle 95
Burrows Professor 303
Burrows Ralph 68
Burrows *see also* Burroughs
Burton Alfred 300
Bury Andrew 69 84
Bury James 144
Bury Token 75
Butler Mary 84
Butt Lane 42 45
Butterworth John 67 90
Butterworth Jonathan 73
Butts Archery 31 34 41
Buxton Poole's Cavern 335
Byron family 315
Byron Sir John de 251
Bythewater William 270

Cadman John 69 88
Cadman William 88
Calley Richard 41
Camelford Gabriel 113
Canoe Ancient found by the Ribble 344
Cappur William and family 101
Carolus Coin of 228
Carter Oliver 349
Cartmel 112 127
Cartwright Bishop 98 99
Cartwright John 46 47 53
Cartwright Margaret 28 34
Cartwright Mary 43
Cartwright Richard 28 33 34 36 41
Cartwright Thomas 43 44 45 50
Cartwright William 25 46
Cartwright family 50 51
Casson Thomas 68 91 92
Caton Church 256
Caton Inscribed Stone 254
Caton William 108 109
Celts 320
Chadderton Token 75
Chaderton Geoffrey de 246
Chantler Professor 19
Chantler John 39
Chantler or Chauntler William 25 26 27 29
Chantries Origin of 171
Chantry Chapel on Salford Bridge 165
Chantry Laws 173
Chapels Origin 171
Charleton John 68 69 84
Charnock family 340
Cheetham 136
Cheetham Token 76
Cheshire Folk-Moots 117
Cheshire Local Courts 231
Cheshire Tokens 64
Chester 263
Chester Port-Moot Court 236
Chester St. Werburg's 20 59 62
Chester Tokens 95
Chetham Edmund 312 313
Chetham Geoffrey 139
Chetham George 315
Chetham Henry 313
Chetham Humphrey 312 315
Chetham Isabel 179
Chetham James 90
Chetham Plate 312
Childwall 138 235
Chorley Tokens 76
Chorlton 136
Chowbent Token 76
Christian a Monk of Oliva 204
Christmas 35
Church Lawton Manor Records 19
Churchill W. S. 347, on the Harkirke Find 219
Citadel of the German Knights 193
Clare Peter 309
Clay getting 42
Clayton Hall 311
Clayton Sir Robert 315
Clayton William 93
Clayton *see also* Cleyton
Cleton William 33
Cleyton William 27 31 39

Clewley John 36
Cliffe Samuel 267
Clitheroe Tokens 76
Cluloe Thomas 45
Coates Walter 103
Cobbett William 308
Cocker family 263
Cocks Thomas 32
"Codding Peese" 33
Coins Harkirke Find 217
Coins *see* Tokens
"Colepit Field" 44
Collmann C. on Anthony Koberger 298
Colne Token 77
Colwich 266 270
Colwych Edward 270
Comberbach 263
Comberbatch John 25 26
Comberbatch Roger 25 27 39
Comberbatch Thomas 31 32
Commission Courts 239
Congleton Archives 23
Congleton Tokens 99
"Conies" 36
Constable Hillock 127
Conversazione Annual 350
"Conye Netts" 31
Cooke Randle 41
Cooke Thomas 31
Cooper H. S. 327
Cooper Hugh 76
Cooper John 350
Cooper Thomas 46 68 94
Coote's *Romans in Britain* 120
"Cope" 171
Copinger W. A. 359
Copyholders' Courts 239
Cornwall Anna Maria d. of Francis 261
Coroners' Courts 238
Corst Anthony 45
Costumal of Preston *see* Preston
Cotton Edward 99
Cotton Richard 69 99 101
Cotton Thomas 67 101
Court-Leet of Church Lawton 19
Courts-Leet and Baron 38
Courts Local Lancashire and Cheshire 231
Courts *see also* Folk-Moots
Coventry Visit to 306
Crabtree Henry 350
Crampton John 68 79
Crawford Earl of 327
Creeke Major 75 *n.*
Cremation 280
Critchlow Alice 80
Crofton H. T. 347 348, on Folk-Moots of Lancashire and Cheshire 117
Crosbie Joshua 69 87
Crosbie Thomas 70 87
Crosby Little 220
Crosby Token 77
Crosses Oldham 345
Crosses Runic 333
Crosslegh Roger and Cicely 59 62
Crossley William 101
Croston Mary 86
Crowgate William 24 63
Cuerdale Find of Coins 222 223 226 229
Cuerden Thomas 339
Cuttler Thomas 67 76

Darbishire R. D. 320 337
Darbyshire A. 307 309 332
"Dasey Hillocke" 93
Davenham 49
Davenport William 302
Davenport family 301
Davies Rev. B. 337
Davis Mary 68 70 79
Davyhulme 136
Dawkins W. Boyd 293 336, on Runic Crosses etc. 332
Deacon Dr. 85
Deane Matthew 71 87
Dee John 312 313 348
Deeds High Legh 259
Deerhurst Font 15
Delamer George Lord 265
Delamere family 168
Demock Mary 102
Dent John 78
Denton 136
De Rance C. E. 320
Derby Family Portraits 341 342
Devias John 138
Dicconson Barbara 76
Dicconson Robert 68 76
"Diches" 59 60 *n.*
Dickens John 86
Didsbury 136 166
Digby Sir Kenelm 341
Dingley Thomas 223
Disley 318
Ditchfield John 68 92
Domesday Book 243
Dood Acre 125
Doolye James 32
Dort Abbey 167
Doson John 71 78
Douglas in Eccleston 113
Drakeford John 25 *bis* 43

Drakeford Mary 38
Drakeford Richard 32 33 42
Droylsden 136
Dugdale Sir W. 51
Dunkeld 164
Dutton Richard 28
Dweryhowse William 68 81

Eardley Richard 24
Eardley *see also* Erdeley
Earle Anne 95
Earle Mary 90
Earwaker J. P. 92 93 132 142 292 298 318 341, on Woden's Ford and Cave 249, on High Legh Deeds 259
Eaton Jonathan 84
Eaton Richard 70 99
Eccles Church 169 170 186 *n.* 190
Ecclesiastical Local Courts 238
Edisbury 123
Edward the Confessor 249
Edward Saint Coins of 226
Elcocke Samuel 69 95
Emery William 85
Endon Samuel 67 69 100
Entwistle Ellen 94
Erdeley John 63
Erdeley Richard 59 61 62
Esdaile George 298 302 328 332 336 346 351, Were the Romans Acquainted with Ireland 146, on the Charters of Manchester and Salford 242, on Aldborough etc. 288, on the Stretford Great Stone 293, on the Mainwaring Family, 300, on the Chetham Plate 302
"Essons" 36
Esths 204
Evans A. J. 303
Evans John 331
Exhibition Royal Jubilee 331 332

Failsworth 136
Fairbairn Sir William 309
Fallows John 25 30 *ter.*
Fallows Richard 38
Farrar Thomas 70 87
Farrer James 270
Farington *see* ffarington
ffarington Elizabeth 340
ffarington George 340 341
ffarington Henry 341
ffarington Joseph 341
ffarington R. A. 91
ffarington Thomas 341
ffarington William 341
ffarington Colonel 337
ffarington Major-General 340
ffarington Misses 340
ffarington Family 76
ffarington Family Portraits 341 342
Faulder W. W. 295 311
Fell Judge 106
Fell Leonard 107
Fell Margaret 106 111
Fell Thomas 107
Fen Richard 76
Fennel Street 134 347
Fenton Roger 35 39
Fenton Thomas 46 47
Fernihough John 40 *bis*
Feuchtwangen Siegfried von 207
Field-Names in Pestforlong 125
Field-Names in Openshaw 269
Fielden Randle 74
Fishwick Henry 86 *n.* 90 *n.* 106 292, on Quaker Lancashire Literature 206
Flax Watering 34
Flemings 167
Fletcher Robert 70 95 99
Flints 287
Flixton 136
"ffoes" of Land 265
Folk-Moots 347
Folk-Moots of Lancashire and Cheshire 117
Fox George 106 109 111
Frederick of Swabia 200
Frodsham 124
Funeral Customs 169
Furness 128
Fynney Richard 36

Galloway John 308
Gally Mary 43
Gaming and Gamings 35 36 38
Gandy Robert 26 27
Garrett Hall 268
Garstang 127 128
Garstang Token 77
Gartside Mr. 132
Gartside Ann d. of Robert 85
"Gate" 35 37
German Knights Citadel of 193
Gernet John 255 256
Gernet Roger 255 256
Gernet Vivian 256
Gibson Rev. T. E. 219 229
Glazeor William 26 51
Glover John 99
Golburne 263
Golding Charles 72
Gomme G. L. 118

Goosnargh 128
Gorsuch Roger 68 82
Gorton 136
Gosforth Cross 9
Goss Bishop 229
Goulding John 71 73
Gradwell Monsignor 249
Gredle *see* Grelle
Greene Mordecai 315
Greene Thomas 67 79
Greenwood John 67 79
Grelle Albert 246
Grelle Sir Hubert 246
Grelle John 251
Grelle Thomas 140 243
Gresley *see* Grelle
"Grith Sergeant" 139
Grosvenor Richard 299
Guest Rev. A. 299
Gustavus Adolphus 217
Guthred Coin of 227
Guy Katherine d. of William 77
Guy of Lusignan 199
Guy's Cliff 305
Gwillym Mrs. 340

Haddock Roger 88
Haddock Thomas 70
Haigh D. H. 227
Hall Elizabeth 97
Hall Hugh 33 *bis* 44 *rep.*
Hall James 101 *n.* 102 *n.*
Hall Ralph 25 82
Hall Robert 25 26
Hall Thomas 27
Halliwell Token 78
Halton Courts 124
Halton Stones 8 11
Halton Token 78
Hamar James 68 90
Hancock Dorothy d. of John 96
Handley Church 263
Hannay G. K. 328
Hanseatic Towns 202 208 214
Hardgreaves James 69 78
Hargrave in Neston 263
Harkirke Find of Coins 217
Harland John 135 314
Harpurhey 136
Hart John 67
Harvey Robert 96
Harvey William 70 96
Harwood 138 235
Haslingden Tokens 78
Hassall John 29
Hassall William 43
Hatton William a Mason 261
Hathorne Hill 53
Haughton 136
Haworth Richard 69, and children 74
Haydock William 68 87
Headridge David 328
Heath Samuel 96
Heath Thomas 96
Heathcote W. H. on Discoveries by the Ribble 342
Heaton Token 78
Heaton Norris 136
Helyoun W. de 251
Henry Mathew 98
Henry of Bolingbroke 193 194
"Heriot" 29
Hesham Roger de 256
Hesham Vivian de 255
Hesketh Mrs. 341
Hewitt Robert 69 70 96
Hewitt Will 69 96
Heysham Sculptured Stones 2 *seq.*
Heywood John and Mary 73
Heywood Martha d. of Peter 84
Heywood Nathan 293 337 342, on Lancashire and Cheshire Tokens 64
Heywood Oliver 80
Heywood Richard 80 81
Hibbert-Ware Samuel 121
High Legh Deeds 259
Higson John 314 316
Higson Richard 71 80
"Hills" 144
Hindley Richard 39
Hirst John Obituary of 356
Hoare Peter Richard 315
Hobson Hugh 265
Hobson Nicholas 41
Hobson Richard 43
Hocknell Ralph 70 96
Hoddam Stones 5
Hodgkinson Robert 47
Hodgkinson Samuel 46
Hodgson John 79
Hodgson Thomas 78
Holden Thomas Obituary of 355
Holford Arthur 26 *bis*, 51 52
Holford Sir George 51
Holford John 38 29 33 *ter.* 36 38 40 52
Holford Sir Peter 52
Holland Robert de 138
Holland W. de 246
Holland Token 78
Holme Robert 142
Holmes Alice d. of Randle 98
Holmes Randle 99

Holt Margaret 27
"Homagemen" 33
Honorius III. 204
Hopkinfold 90
Hopkinson Elizabeth d. of Robert 267
Horden Henry 30
Hornby Mrs. James 341
Horses as Funeral Offerings 169
Horses on Ancient Sculptured Stones 10
Horsfall J. 328
Hosse William 30
Hoton Christian de 246
Hough John 96
Houghton John 267
"Housling People" 166
Houton John de 256
Howarde Sir Edward 169
Howpre Peter 32
Hubberthorne Richard 112 116
Hughes Roger 27
Hughes Thomas 25 26
Hulme 136
Hulme John 103
Hulme William 37 44
Hulse John 25 *bis* 26 27
Hulse William 31 *bis*
Hulton Adam 264
Hulton Alice 80
Hulton Alice d. of John 264
Hulton Johannes de 140
Hulton Richard de 138
Hulton Roger de 170
Hundersfield 125
Hunt Henry 295
Hunt Richard 68 84
Hunte Richard 131
Hutchinson James 71 97
Huyton Token 78
Hyde's Cross 141
Hyginus Camp of 288
Hylton Richard de 251
Hyndley Thomas 35

Indian Calumet 289
"Insart" 45
Incense Cups 281-2
Ireland Romans in 146 346
Irish Manuscripts 333
Irlam 136 268
Ironmonger John 31 32

Jackson Ambrose 87
Jackson Daniell 71 101
Jackson S. 332
Jackson Thomas 70 102
Jackson William 68 78
Jagello Polish King 210
John of Bohemia 194
Johnson James 70 100
Johnson Rev. Richard 84
Johnson Thomas 70 82
Johnstone Rev. T. B. 346
Jollie Major James 97
Jollie Nathaniel 97
Jones Cadwallader 97
Jungingen Ulric von 215

Kay John 308
Keck Mrs. Legh 341
Kellet John 68 70 88
Kells Book of 164
Kelly Edward Astrologer 349
Kelsall William 40 44
Kendrick Dr. 126
Kenilworth 305
Kenion Ralph 90
Kennedy John 309
Kent Ralph 26 37 39
Kent Thomas 26
Kirby Token 78
Kirkham 128
Kirkham Token 29
Knights German 193
Knolles 142
Knowsley James 69 97
Knutsford 125 263 299
Knutsford Tokens 99
Koberger A. 298
Kohler J. D. 221
Konigsberg 207
Kuerden Richard 350

Lacy Roger de 262
Lad-Law Stones 126
Lady-Barn 138
Lady-Field 123
Laithwaite William 69 94
Lake Bishop John 337
Lake-Dwellings 281
Lancashire Folk-Moots 117
Lancashire Local Courts 231
Lancashire Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones 1
Lancashire Tokens 64
Lancaster Edmund Earl of 250
Lancaster 128 255 256
Lancaster Castle 110
Lancaster Cross 6 *seq.*
Lancaster Tokens 79
Lancaster William 77
Langton Robert 336 345 357
Lastingham Stone 14

Lathom Sir Thomas 138
Latton Thomas 28
Law Robert 328
La Warre Roger de 167
"Lawday" 122
Lawson Isabel 77
Lawson John 79
Lawson Jonah 109
Lawson Rev. Thomas 109
Lawton Andrew 44 45
Lawton Joane 27
Lawton John de 23 24 *bis* 47 48 *rep.*
Lawton John 28 29 32 40 *bis* 41 42 43 *bis* 44 *rep.* 45 46 *rep.* 50 60 62
Lawton John of Snape 33 34 36 44
Lawton John of the Yewtree 39
Lawton John cardmaker 32 *bis*
Lawton Laurence 25 26 27 *bis*
Lawton Ralph 30
Lawton Robert 25 26 27
Lawton Thomas 26 30 32
Lawton William 20 24 25 28 32 37 38 40 41 43 *bis* 44 45 46 51 60 61 62
Lawton William Priest 28 36 37 38 45
Lawton William of Greene 36 42
Lawton William of Mere 36
Leadbetter Charles 350
Leah Samuel 100
Leamington Visit to 303
Lee Peter 97
Leech Samuel and Mary 92
Leet Court 232
Legh Felice 49 *bis*
Legh Edward 52 59 61 62
Legh Edward de 24 *bis* 49 *rep.* 50
Legh George 261 268 269 270
Legh Henry 265 269
Legh Henry Cornwall 259 260 266 271
Legh Jane 263
Legh Joan 263
Legh John 50
Legh Lawrence 262
Legh Matthew 262 263
Legh Oliver 49 52
Legh Ralph 26 *bis* 50 *rep.*
Legh Randle 50
Legh Richard 263
Legh Robert 27 *bis* 51
Legh Thomas 49 50 *rep.* 261 268 269
Legh W. J. 318
Legh William 25 49
Leigh Edward de 48
Leigh Richard 68 100
Leigh Sir Thomas 305
Leigh of West Hall 260
Leigh Tokens 80
Lenton 236
Letherbrow J. H. 318
Letherbrow Thomas 332
Letts E. F. 295 335 347
Levenshulme 136
Lever 138
Lever William de 138
Leversage Ralph 26 27
Leversage William 28 29 35 36 37 *bis* 38 40 54
Leycester John 311
Leycester Peter 270
Leycester Sir Peter 51 310
Leyland Church 337
Lilford Lady 341
Lindisfarne 227
Lingard Mary heiress of Wm. 53
Little Lever Token 80
Liverpool Court of Passage 234
Liverpool Museum 330
Liverpool Tokens 81
Lockett Anna 38
Lockett Robert 44
London Trade Companies 69
Longford Nicholas de 138
Lonsdale Henry 77
Lord John 67 78
Lostock 138 236
Lovatt John 29
Low William 44 46
Ludovicus Coin of 228
Lune River 254
Lyme Hall 318
Lyme Handley 124
Lymm 263
Lyversage *see* Leversage

Mackersfield 130
Macclesfield Tokens 100
Madyowe or Maddock Beatrice 24 *bis* 48 59 60 62 63
Madyowe or Maddock Thomas 48
Mainwaring Elizabeth 263
Mainwaring Ellen 263
Mainwaring Peter 263
Mainwaring Family 300
"Mall" 122 143
Malpas 79
Man Isle Roman knowledge of 156 162
Manchester Ancient Parish 136
Manchester Charter 140 242
Manchester Church 170 173 186 *n.* 317
Manchester Church Burial Ground 144
Manchester Court Leet 137
Manchester Deeds 268
Manchester Folk Moots 131

Manchester in 1370, 166
Manchester Manor 121 136
Manchester Manor Court 235
Manchester Old at the Exhibition 307
Manchester Port-Mote 237
Manchester Queen's Park Museum 330
Manchester Tokens 82
Manley 263
Manley Robert 340
Manorial Records 20
"Manredden" 265
Manuscripts Ancient 149
Manx Stones 9
March H. Colley 287 297 328, on Types of Sepulchral Urns 272
Mareschall Thomas de 139
Marienburg 195 *seq.* 207 217
Market Court 238
Markland Matthew 69 71 94
Markland Robert 70 94
Markland Family 94
Marl 41
Marsh Lau. 82
Marshall Henry le 139
Martindale Adam 97
Martlers Robert 71 90
Mascy *see* Massey
Mashter John 69 79
Mass Symbolism 178
Massey Hamnet 265
Massey Hamo 264
Massey James 265
Massey Richard 264 267
Massey Family 264
Matley 123
Maynwaring Peter 43
Meigle Stones 3 *seq.*
Melegate 143
Members List of 364
Mere 263
"Meres" 40 *bis*
Metheglin 279 281
Middleton William 46 *rep.*
Middlewich 47
Middlewich Tokens 101
Miller W. P. 328
Milne Oswald 86
Milne Richard 86
Milnrow Tokens 86
Minshull John 28
Minshull Thomas 97
Minshull Vernon 124
Missals York and Sarum 188
Mitchell John 45
Mitchell William 34
Mobberley 125
Mollineux Henry 113
Mollineux James 74
Mollineux Mary 113
Molyneux John 269
Molyneux Richard Lord 341
Monton 136
Moothill Warrington 126
Moots 117 *seq.*
More William 26 *bis*
Moreton John 29
Moreton Ralph 26 50
Moreton Richard 26
Moreton William and Marie 92
"Mortuary" 169
Mosley Edward 265
Mosley Rowland 265
Moss Isaac 84
Moss Robert 67 74
Moss Side 136
Moston 136
Mote Farm 124
Mottram 123
Mouldsworth 122
Mountfort Ralph 46
Moyes Rev. James 332, on the Chantry Chapel on Salford Bridge 165
Müller Max 303
Murchell John 46
Murchell *see also* Mitchell
Murry Jane 69 92
Mutchell William 28
Mycenæ 273
Mylne R. S. 303
Mynshall Richard 70

Names Christian 71
Nantwich Tokens 101
Nedham John 29
Neild John 84
Nevill Charles 300 302
Nevyll R. de 169
Newcome Henry 263
Newton Francis 103
Newton Tokens 86
Newton with Kirkmanshulme 136
Nicholson Albert 309 333 351
Nicholson E. B. 303
Nicholson J. H. 294
Nicholson Margaret 71 103
Nicholson Ralph and Elizabeth 71 103
Norbury William 347
Normanville Thomas de 246
Norris James 67
Norris Robert 274
North's Plutarch 297
Noton J. 297

Nowell Christopher 68, and Family 87
Nuthurst 136
Nuttall Lawrence 67 87

O'Conor Rev. W. A. 295 355
Odd Rode 48 50
Olcott John 32 37
Oldfield Emary 70 84 85
Oldfield John 85
Oldham Crosses 345
Oldham Token 87
Oliva Convent 205
Openshaw 136 266 269
Ordsall 253
Ordsall Cave 292
Ormskirk 68
Ormskirk Tokens 87
Oswald King 16 17
Oswestry 16 17
Ottakar King of Bohemia 206
Owen George York Herald 262
Owen John 84 *n.* 86 *n.* 302 342, on Clayton 316 317
Owen Robert 308
Oxford Visit to 302
Oxley Thomas 350

Page Matthew 92
Pakington *see* Pilkington
Parker James 303
Parker Thomas 77
Parkes Rev. H. S. on Lancashire and Cheshire Astrologers 348
Parkinson Ralph 25 26
Parkinson Richard 296
Partington John and Mary 86
Passage Court Liverpool 234
Patchet Francis 112
Patteshall Hugh 188
"Pavin" 31
"Payvey" 268
Peake James 92
Pemberton John 69 82
Pendlebury 251
Pendleton 251
Pennyless Hill 133 137
Penrith Stones 3
Penwortham Hill 126 344
Peover Church 299
Perry Hugh 97
Perry Lewis 97
Pestforlong 125
Phlegmund Archbishop 225
Pickering Jo. 69 92
Pickmere 263
Picton Sir J. A. 235
Pie Poudre Courts 238
Pigott Thomas 68 69 92
"Pilios" or 'Pilus' 36
Pilkington 138 235
Pilkington Roger de 138
Pinfold 31
Pith or Pitch Roger 257
Plague Stone at Stretford 293
Plant Robert 45
Plauen Count Henry of 215 216
Podmore Thomas 85
Poicton Roger de 243 247
Pole Hugh 25 26
Pollett Susanna 83
Poole Francis 39 40
Poole John 41 45
Poole Nathaniell 71 100
Poole Ralph 35
Poole Richard 31 36 37
Poole Samuel 44
Port Moot Court 235 236
Postle William 45 *ref.*
Potter C. 328
Pottery *see* Urns
Poulton 128
Poulton Token 87
Preeson Thomas 81
Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones 1
Prestbury Stones 3 14
Prescot Tokens 87
Preston Costumal 120 128 129
Preston Discoveries by the Ribble 343
Preston Election of 1830 295
Preston Museum 329
Preston Tokens 87
Prestwich Adam de 250 251
Price Elizabeth 69 102
Printing Early 298
Prockter William 68 79
Proudlove Robert 45
Prussia 204 *seq.*
Prynne William 97
Ptolemy's Geography 154 158
Purcell Margaret 43
Purcell Richard 42

Quaker Lancashire Literature 106
Quick and Saddleworth 269

Radcliffe William de 138
Radeclyve Richard de 251
Radford Robert 69 97
Radford Samuel 69 98
"Radmans" 124
Ramsden Sir J. 328
Rashleigh J. 225 230

Rathbone Samuel 67 82
Rathbone William 82
Ravald John 70 88
Ravenhead 128
Ravenmeols 128
Ravenna Mosaic 6 13
Ravenscroft 128
Ravenscroft Henry de 23
Ravenscroft Richard de 59
"Raw" 36
Reddish 136
Reddish Elizabeth 52
Redhead R. Milne 86
Renaud Frank 293, on Church Lawton Manor Records 19
Report of Council 355
Reveld John and Robert 88
Reyrfeld Yate 27
Ribble Valley Discoveries in 343
Richard of Cirencester 147
Ridge Jonathan 98
Ridge Robert 98
Riley Roger 27
Risley Token 90
Rivers General Pitt 334
Rixton 264
Roberts Mary 308
Roberts Mary 74
Robinson Edmund 70 76
Robinson J. B. 297
Robinson Thomas 98
Rochdale Berewick 243
Rochdale Tokens 90
Rode Eve 49
Rode Randle 28 34 *ter.* 35 *bis* 36 37 38 40 43 *bis* 44 50
Rode Richard 49
Rode Thomas 28 33 35 50
Rodgers Charles 67 80
Roeder Charles 328 342 350
Roman Camps 287-8
Roman Courts 119
Roman Villages in England 334
Romans in Ireland 146 346
Romesdene George 142
Roper W. O. 4 7 294, on an Inscribed Stone at Caton 254
Rostherne Church 262
Rowley Hugh 37
Rowley Richard 40 41 43
Rowley Robert 30 31 36
Rowley Thomas 25 26 43 46
Rowley William 46
Rowlinson Richard 350
Rules 294 360
Rumworth 136 236
Runic Crosses 333
Rushmore Park 334
Rusholme 136
Rylands Francis 85
Rylands J. P. 91 *n.*
Rylands John and Martha 85
Ryley John 25 26 27

Sabbath Playing at Balls 35
Saddleworth 269
Sale Deeds 263 264
Sales H. H. 345
Salford Bridge Chantry Chapel 165
Salford Charter 242
Salford Courts 130
Salford Hundred 135
Salford Museum 329
Salford Port-Mote 237
Salford Wapentake Court 140
Salford Woden's Ford and Cave 249
Salmon John 67 69 70 98
Salza Hermann von 201
Samogitia 216
Sandbach Crosses 6
Sandbach Token 102
Savage Richard 306
Scholes James 70 75
Scholes James C. 74 *n.* 75 *n.*
Schofield William 92
Schön President 218
Scotforth 112
"Scowle" 43
Sculptured Stones Pre-Norman 1
Sephton 220
Sepulchral Urns Types of 272
Sessions Courts 236
"Severall" = Holding (?) 265
Shakerley Geoffrey 299
Sharpe Thomas 308
Shaw Thomas 35 38 39
Shaw William 31 *bis*
Shawfield Token 90
Sheldon Mr. 23
Sherlock Richard 114 116
Sherman John 63
Sherrocks Hill Ravenmeols 128
Shield John 70 89
Shooting Butts *see* Butts
Shoresworth Robert de 251
Shotlach William de 49
Shufflebottom Richard 41
Siddall Richard 302
Siddall House 302
Simpson Thomas 69 98
Simpson William 109
Sims Richard 62

"Sir" prefix 181
Sixsmith Bruen 70 92
Sklater William 142
Skulls found by the Ribble 343
Slater George 86
Smallfield J. S. 82 *n.*
Smallshawe William and Family 74
Smethurst Jeremiah and Family 93
Smith James of Poulton 70 87
Smith John of Heathend 40
Smith Stephen 44
Smith Thomas 103
Smithy Door 137
Snape 28
Snead William 67 69 98
Sneyd Ralph 39
Southworth Mary 113
Spelman John 224
Standish Sir F. 125
Stanley S. S. 304
Staveley in Cartmel 113
"Stelds" 30
Stephens Professor G. 6
Stevens Thomas 46 *bis* 47
Stevenson Thomas 45
Stockport 144
Stockport Tokens 102
Stokketon Robert de 140
Stone Implements 320
Stone Inscribed at Caton 254
Stones Sculptured Pre-Norman 1
Stoneleigh Abbey 304
Stonier John 45
Strakeford Richard 26
Strangeways William de 142
Stratford-on-Avon 306
Strengfellow Joshua 70 90
Strengfellow Robert 90
Stretford 136
Stretford Great Stone 293
Strethall 263
Stringer Peter 69 98
"Strue" 41
Stubbes Sampson 38
Stubbs Thomas 42
Stuthen Robert de 140
Sunday Penalties for Wounding on 245
Sumpner John 68 70 89
Sumpner Richard 68 88 89
Sutton C. W. 292 358
Swarthmoor Hall 106
Swindell Francis 67 100
Swinehead Chartulary 262
Swinton James 100
Sworn Men 128
Swynnerton William 35
Tabley Old Hall 310
Talbot Ann 341
Talbot George 77
Talbot John 77
Talbot Robert 67 76
Tannenberg Battle 215
Tarleton Token 91
Tatham Minister at Colne 77
Tatton Robert 265
Taylor Edward of Glodwick 90
Taylor Henry 297
Taylor John 37
Tench Mary 102
Tench John 102
Tench Thomas 102
"Thing" 122
Thingwall 123
Thorn Peace of 216 217
Thornber Harry 298
Thornber Rev. W. 127
Thornton J. S. 297
Thornton John 25
Thornton in the Moors 263
Thurstaston 123
Tilbury 122
Tilly William a Mason 261
Tingreave 125
Tinkler J. E. 350
Tintwistle 123
Tithes 112
Tithing 122
Toad Lane 144 347-8
Tokens Lancashire and Cheshire 64 297
Tokin Nicholas 78
Toler J. M. 48
Tomson Randle 46
Tonge 125
Toot 144
Toot-Hill 124 125
Tottington 125
Tourn Court 232
Towerton John 100
Townley John 70 71 77
Townley Lawrence 71 75
Trafford Edmund 269
Trafford George 268
Trafford Henry de 138 246 251
Trafford Sir Humphrey de 328
Trafford William 267
Trafford Family 266
Trailbaston 240
Travers John 69 99
Treasurer's Statement 359
Turner Thomas 31
Turton Token 91
Twaite Adam 71 76

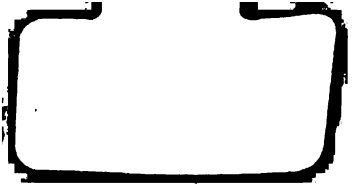
Twemlow Andrew 25 26 *bis* 32 53
Twemlow George 33 53 *rep.*
Twemlow Joan 35 39
Twemlow John 26 29 31 34 43 *bis* 53 *rep.*
Twemlow John jun. 25
Twemlow Ralph 53
Twemlow Thomas 25 26 *rep.* 32 53
Twysiche Meadow 25

Unsworth 138 236
Untroyd Robert 25
Untroyd Robert jun. 26
Unwin Ralph 39 *rep.* 40 42
Unwin Richard 30
Unwin Werberg 30
Urn Broughton 296
Urn Red Bank 295
Urns Sepulchral 272

Vagabonds 37 39
Varley William 68 93
Vaudrey Robert 264
Vawdrey Edward 265
Venables Ciprian 29
Vestments of the Chantry Priest 186
Vicars Edward 39
Victoria University 287
Vigor Abigail 86
Vigor Allen 86
Vigor Joseph 86
Volund's Story 9
Voluntii 161

Waddington J. A. 13
Waddington William 75
Wakefield co. York 266
Wales Roman Roads in 147
Waley Mr. 221 222
Wall John 68 71 87
Walker Benjamin 68 71 73
Walker J. 328
Walker William of Leyland 339
Walker William of Ribchester 311
Walmersley Token 91
Walmesley Family 76
Walton John 25 *bis* 26 29 33 39 41
Walton Richard 27 36
Walton Robert 28 33
Wapentake Salford 130
War-hill 123
Warburton Sir John 265
Ward Professor A. W. 350, on the Citadel of the German Knights 193
Wareing Samuel 75
Warren Isabel widow of Sir Lawrence 51
Warrington 130
Warrington Bridge 261
Warrington Moot-Hill 126
Warrington Museum 329
Warrington Tokens 91
Wasley Thomas 69 76
Waste = Common 40
Watson Samuel 84
Watts W. 328
Wearam or Wearom John 28 34
Wearam John jun. 36
Wearam Margaret 35
Wearam Richard 27
Wearam Thomas 43
Wearam William 39 41 45 46
Weaver Robert 44
Weaving Introduction of 167
Weidgin Richard 26
Welch Thomas 70 99
Weld J. 329
Wells Anthony 74
West-Houghton Token 93
West Kirby Hog-backed Stone 3 14
Weyland Smith 9
Whalley Crosses 12 13 14
Whalley Tokens 93
Whalley Thomas and family 88 89
White Rev. W. S. 337
Whitley Roger 99
Widders Robert 109
Widnes Manor 130
Wigan John 110 111
Wigan Tokens 93
Wiggleswick 136
Wilbraham Roger 45 46 47 54
Williams Henry 70 99
Williams Lewis 99
Williams Sir W. 66
Williamson Edward 67 82
Williamson William 81 86
Willison Jeffery 86
Wilmslow 123
Winstanley Robert 68 71 94
Winter Samuel 70 86
Winwick Crosses 14
Wiper W. 292
Withington 136 138 235
Wodarneford 250 252
Wodarneleye 252
Woden's Ford and Woden's Cave 249 292
Woley Thomas 68 70
Woley *see also* Whalley
Wolf (Wolfe, Woulfe) Andrew 32
Wolf Margery 49
Wolf Randle 49
Wolf Richard 25 26 *bis* 49
Wolf Thomas 24 48 49 *rep.* 59 60 61 62 63

Wolf William 29 34 36
Wolseley Family 270
Wolstenholme James 68 76
Wood Edward 71 100
Woodhall Richard 25
Woods Jeffrey 68 79
Woolley Elizabeth 67 93
Worden Hall 337 340 *seq.*
Worden's Ford 249
Wordsall 253
Worrall Richard 68 93
Worrall Sarah 308
Worthington 138 236
Worthington William de 138
Wrexham Thomas 70 93
Wrightington 76
Wrigley Henry 337
Wulfstan 203
Wymark wife of R. de Hesham 256

Yates G. C. 293 296 297 303 310 311 332 342 351 258, on an Indian Calumet 289, on Stone Implements 320
Yates Miss 351
Yealand 112
Yeoman 37
York Coins 222 224 225 227

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